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METHODIST REVIEW.

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(BIMONTHLY.)

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WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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FIFTH SERIES,
VOL. X, No. 4.

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1894.

ART. I.—SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE "METHODIST REVIEW."

WHEN a periodical reaches an age so advanced as seventy-five, surpassing all others of its class in years as well as circulation, it is eminently fitting that some memorial of the achievement be recorded. Hence this review of the *Review*. It is nearly one hundred years since the establishment of such a periodical was favorably considered. In the General Conference Journal of 1796 occurs the following minute:

> *Question* 9. Will the Conference recommend and engage to promote the publication of a magazine entitled the *Methodist Magazine*, which shall consist of compilations from the British magazines and of original accounts of the experiences of pious persons, and shall be published in monthly numbers? *Answer*. The Conference will recommend such a magazine, and desire that it may be printed.

In spite of this encouraging action the magazine was not then issued, the times apparently not being favorable for the venture, and the youthful Church being too much occupied in making good its rights to a foothold on the soil of this great continent. In 1812 the General Conference ordered "the resumption," in monthly numbers, of Wesley's *Arminian Magazine*, afterward called the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, the first volume of which had been reprinted by John Dickins in 1789, and the second in 1790; but the order was not obeyed. In 1816 the matter was brought up again, and this General Conference reiterated the instructions of its predecessor, committing the conduct of the venture to the "book steward and his assistant."

I. This book steward proved to be Joshua Soule, and his assistant Thomas Mason. After due deliberation, in January, 1818, they issued, as publishers and editors, the first number of the *Methodist Magazine*, "for the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." In their introductory address to the members of the Church, they say:

> The care and labor inseparable from the agency of the Book Concern forbid our devoting as much time and application to the selection and arrangement of materials for publication in the magazine as its nature and importance demand. But notwithstanding these embarrassments exist we trust the work will be found both useful and entertaining to the real friends of Zion. The great design of this publication is to circulate religious knowledge, a design which embraces the highest interests of rational existence, as the sum of individual and social happiness increases on a scale of proportion with the increase of spiritual light and information.

Dr. Bangs, in his History, remarks that the periodical "was generally hailed with delight" as a harbinger of better days, though some sneered at the attempt to "diffuse useful knowledge and scriptural piety by means of the press." The contents of the new monthly, modeled largely after its English prototype, the *Arminian Magazine*, were distributed under nine general heads, namely, "Divinity," "Biography," "Scripture Illustrated," "The Attributes of God Displayed," "The Grace of God Manifested," "Miscellaneous," "Religious and Missionary Intelligence," "Obituary," "Poetry." Forty pages made a number, and twelve numbers a volume. Considering the times and the meager resources at hand, the magazine was no doubt very creditable to its managers, and its readers, it is to be hoped, found it interesting. But not many people of the present day would care to peruse its pages. There were but few original contributions. Sermons, memoirs, accounts of revivals, long extracts from books of theology, and copious selections from many sources were the materials chiefly relied upon to fill the numbers. It is worthy of note that in Volume III is incorporated the first annual report of "the Missionary and Bible Society of the M. E. Church in America."

II. At the General Conference of 1820 Nathan Bangs, then forty-two years of age, was elected book agent, and accordingly became editor of the magazine from the middle of the third volume, with Thomas Mason (1820–24) and John Emory (1824–28)

as assistants. In an address to his readers, January, 1823, he expresses gratitude for the increased prosperity of the magazine, together with an earnest purpose to render it more worthy of the extensive patronage it had obtained. With Volume VIII, at the beginning of 1825, the departments were reduced from nine to six, "Scripture Illustrated," "The Attributes of God Displayed," and "The Grace of God Manifested" being dropped from the list. A slight change was also made in the title-page. It now read, "*The Methodist Magazine*, Designed as a Compend of Useful Knowledge and of Religious and Missionary Intelligence."

In 1827 a very peculiar arrangement went into operation, which is of interest as illustrating the somewhat impoverished condition of both Church and country and the primitive nature of the postal service. The volume this year was completed in ten numbers instead of twelve, though four hundred and eighty pages were furnished, as before. One reason, as stated by the editors, was, to save a part of the expense of postage to the subscribers. Forty pages meant two and a half sheets, and forty-eight pages meant three sheets, and the postage was the same for the former as for the latter. Hence by giving forty-eight pages for ten months instead of forty pages for twelve months something could be saved. But there was still another reason, stated thus:

> As many of our patrons take the magazine in bound volumes it will be a great convenience to them as well as to ourselves to have the volume completed so as to send it off before the navigation closes. This cannot be done while the volume is not bound until the last of December, and hence our Northern and Eastern subscribers cannot, without great inconvenience and expense, obtain their bound volumes until the last of March or beginning of April. This evil will be remedied by the present arrangement.

Evidently, however, this economical scheme was attended with overbalancing disadvantages, for the eleventh volume, 1828, consisted of twelve numbers with forty pages each.

These eleven volumes, reaching from 1818 to 1828, constituted the first series. Portraits, fairly executed, were furnished of Methodist celebrities—among others, of Francis Asbury, William McKendree, Freeborn Garrettson (aged sixty-eight, and again, aged seventy-three), Ezekiel Cooper, Joshua Soule,

William Phœbus, Thomas Coke, Richard Reece, John Hannah, Charles Wesley, George Lane, B. Hibbard, Elijah Hedding, James B. Finley, Laban Clark, and Stephen Olin.

III. Although the magazine had done a good work and had probably met the expectations of its projectors, it had now become plain that a new departure was required to adapt it to altered times. The introduction of weekly religious newspapers—the *Christian Advocate* and *Zion's Herald* having been started at nearly the same time and having speedily attained a large circulation—together with the publication by the Book Concern of the *Child's Magazine* and the *Youth's Instructor*, necessitated a change. Many of the topics which previously gave value to the monthly magazine now found their proper place in the weekly paper; and it was speedily seen that a quarterly, embodying subjects of more permanent interest and requiring more extended discussion, was the demand of the hour. There was some delay, however, in consummating the new arrangement, and hence there is no volume for 1829. Volume I of the New Series, being Volume XII from the beginning, is dated January, 1830, though issued a short time before. The title is now the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*, four numbers, 120 pages each, being issued each year. John Emory and Beverly Waugh were editors and publishers. In their prospectus they say, "We have taken measures to engage the regular assistance of able writers, of whom our improving ministry and our growing academies and colleges, we trust, will contribute to furnish an increasing number." Reviews of new works are promised; also the best articles from domestic and foreign periodicals, "either entire, or in part, or in the form of abridgments, compilations, or abstracts." And it is declared that "the general interests of humanity, morality, literature, and science shall not be overlooked." A very important part of the purpose and mission of the *Review*, as well as a significant note of the times, is indicated in the following words:

> The body of our fellow-citizens and of other denominations have had pressed upon them the most fearful caricatures of our system, calculated to render us utterly odious, while with a patience of endurance scarcely paralleled we have submitted almost in silence, though with the means in our power of the most perfect refutation of such deliberate scandals. The time, we believe, has come to afford both to the civil and

religious community of our country an opportunity to become better acquainted with the true principles of our polity and discipline, as well as with our doctrine, and to rebuke the incessant obloquy of those who heap upon us such perpetual and unfailing aspersions.

In harmony with this announcement the first number of the new periodical devotes forty pages to a review of a pamphlet by Asa Shinn which advocated lay delegation, thirty pages to the controversy with Alexander McCaine on "Church Polity," and twenty pages to answering the strictures of *The Christian Spectator* on Methodism. The succeeding numbers are also largely controversial and defensive. In this quadrennium began to appear the names of some of the writers of the articles.

IV. At the General Conference of 1832 it was clearly seen that the previous crude arrangement by which the editing was done by the publishers would no longer answer for the expanding business and growing needs of the Church. Accordingly, while Beverly Waugh and Thomas Mason were made book agents the editorial work was committed to other minds. Dr. Nathan Bangs was elected "editor of the *Quarterly Review* and of our books generally." It was commonly understood that much of the editorial work had been done by him during 1830 and 1831, and as he was undoubtedly the chief originator of the *Quarterly* it was fitting that, among the many distinctions which crown his head, he should have the honor of being its first regularly elected editor. He put much hard work upon it under very embarrassing circumstances, since he was not at liberty to offer any remuneration to contributors. He had to forage everywhere for the straw wherewith to make his brick. If the reader fails to find that breadth of scholarship, variety of knowledge, and elegance of style which have characterized the *Review* in later years, he will at least discover many articles still worth reading and abundant evidence of faithful labor. From 1820 to 1836, with scarcely a break, Dr. Bangs was the guiding genius of the magazine.

In the latter year a sudden calamity jostled the *Review* out of its beaten track, but, thanks to the ardor of its many friends, no permanent injury resulted. In February of this year the Book Concern, which less than three years before had moved to its new quarters in Mulberry Street, was entirely destroyed by fire at night, suffering a loss of not far from $250,000.

The number for April, which was already printed, was totally consumed, together with the copy from which it was made up. The agents waited to consult the General Conference, which bade them go on with the publication. Accordingly a new April number, with entirely different materials, was sent out, and so there was no real break in the volume.

V. In 1836 a new disposition was made of matters at the Book Concern. It being thought best to concentrate responsibility, provision was made for a principal editor and an assistant. To the former post Samuel Luckey was chosen, to the latter John A. Collins. With the advice of the Book Committee the editors were given authority "to employ suitable persons at a fair compensation for the purpose of supplying proper materials." Dr. Luckey thus became chief editor not only of the *Christian Advocate* but of the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*, being at this time forty-five years old. He was a self-educated man, of no ordinary powers of intellect, who had filled with high credit many honorable positions in the Church. With him was associated, as assistant editor of the *Review*, the Rev. George Coles, Mr. Collins having soon resigned as assistant editor. In July, 1837, the magazine bears for the first time, printed near its heading, the names of its editors. "Edited by S. Luckey and G. Coles" is the announcement which then, and for the three years following, met the eyes of its readers.

Here first begins, under the head of "Miscellaneous Notices," short reviews of books as a regular department, at the close of each number. The editors make the following introductory observations about it:

> In regard to admitting these miscellaneous notices . . . we shall strictly adhere to the following regulations. They must come to us accompanied with the signature of a person in whom from our knowledge of his reputation we can repose confidence. We shall admit none commending works which in our opinion ought not to be recommended to public favor. But as we cannot know in all cases the character of the books thus noticed, the writers of the notices must be held responsible for what they shall say of their contents and not we.

An appeal is also made to correspondents to furnish notices of new and rare books.

The second series, like the first, was composed of eleven volumes, reaching from 1830 to 1840. The portraits of this period

show the faces, among others, of Elijah Woolsey, William Capers, Nathan Bangs, Wilbur Fisk, John Dempster, R. R. Roberts, George Peck, Samuel Luckey, J. O. Andrew, Daniel Ostrander, and Joseph Benson.

VI. The General Conference of 1840, rightly judging that more labor must be expended on the *Review* if it was to meet the ever-advancing standard of literary taste, decided to provide for it again a separate editor. It elected to this responsible position the Rev. George Peck, D.D., then nearly forty-three years of age. He had been pursuing the work of a Methodist preacher since he was nineteen. Though without special education other than that gained by private study, so strong an impression had his abilities as a leader made upon his brethren that in 1824, when not yet twenty-seven years old, he was chosen a delegate to the General Conference, and from that time on he received twelve other similar elections without a break. He served successfully as principal of Cazenovia Seminary from 1835 to 1838. In reference to the editorship he says in his autobiography that he came to the Conference with no aspirations in that direction, and that he accepted the election, tendered him chiefly by the Northern delegates because of his antislavery principles, with reluctance. The one paragraph in the story of his life throwing light on the question how he enjoyed the post, is the following:—

> I found the work of editing the *Quarterly Review* more easy and pleasant during my second term than it had been the first. The corps of writers which I had gathered was constantly increasing both in numbers and ability, and there was also a steady increase of the subscription list. The *Review* had gained some reputation abroad. We had sent a few copies to a house in London; these were bought up and read; and during my stay in England I found that many had become acquainted with the publication. I was not a little pleased by being told that it was considered one of the best in the English language. It was gratifying to know that the first *Quarterly Review* established under Methodist auspices had proved successful. I may add that during the second term of my editorship the *Review* became self-supporting.

With the number for January, 1841, or Volume XXIII, began the third series of the publication, and this series extended during the years of Dr. Peck's incumbency. The name *Methodist Magazine* now disappears forever from the title. The periodical is to be known simply as the *Methodist Quarterly*

Review, and is to take on more fully the character of a review. Nearly all the long articles are preceded by the titles of one or more volumes with which the writers (unknown, during this series, until 1848) deal as suits their fancy. At the close of these articles, under the head of "Critical Notices," a few brief, unpretentious descriptions of other books are given, this department sometimes occupying only two or three pages. A large part of the space is taken up with schoolbook notices. Among other things *A Practical Treatise on Dyeing and Calico Printing* and a work on *French Domestic Cookery* have attention. Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy* is extolled as an English classic. On the whole, though the volumes show improvement in mechanical appearance, one is impressed that it is still the day of small things in a literary point of view with the chief periodical of the Methodist Church. Yet as he turns the pages of these old volumes he lights upon some good articles that well repay perusal. Among those of more scholarly and permanent value may be mentioned, "Kant and Kantism," "Philosophy of Christian Morals," "Theory of the Atonement," "Missions and Methodism," "Methodist Hymnology," "Theory of Temptation," "Literature of the Bible," and "Cousin's Philosophy." Of more popular interest are "Fourierism," "Franklin's Discoveries in Electricity," "Miss Barrett's Poems," "Le Verrier's Planet," "Webster's Octavo Dictionary," "Phrenology and Fact." Among the thirty-two portraits are those of Robert Newton, John P. Durbin, Richard Watson, W. M. Wightman, Adam Clarke, Ezekiel Cooper, Bishop Morris, Thomas E. Bond, Phineas Rice, William Winans, Bishop Waugh, Lovick Pierce, Charles Elliott, Joseph M. Trimble, P. P. Sandford, Bishop Hamline, and Tobias Spicer.

VII. The General Conference of 1848, finding available a man of such superior mold as John McClintock, honored itself by electing him editor of the *Review*, though he was not a member of that body; and again in 1852 this choice was repeated. The new incumbent, only thirty-three years of age at his election, had graduated with distinction at the University of Pennsylvania in 1835, and had been professor in Dickinson College from 1836 to 1848. From boyhood he was a scholar, and down to the day of his death he reveled in books. He stands easily in the front rank of the accomplished men pro-

duced in the Methodist Episcopal Church of the past generation. Quick in perception, clear in statement, broad in generalization, an independent thinker, and a trained critic, with a fine taste and keen interest in all departments of knowledge, greatly beloved by a wide circle, and already distinguished as a champion of the slave, he was so eminently fitted for the post of editor that it is not surprising to find, as the General Conference of 1848 approached, in spite of his youth, many eyes were turned to him. The new position, when it came, was in every way agreeable, and he entered upon it with keen relish. Writing to Dr. Olin of his hopes and plans in the new work, he says:

> I mean and hope to be a conservative of the forward kind; not falling into any extravagance or ism, if I can keep out by the grace of God, but striving to get the Church at its work of growth within and without.

The General Conference of 1848, though very properly laying on the table a resolution reported to it by the Committee on the Book Concern, directing the editor of the *Review* to lessen the expenditure by inserting fewer paid articles, had passed a resolution declaring its firm conviction that were the *Review* made more practical "it would be more popular and useful." The new editor was confronted at once with the question, How can this be done? He refused to believe that any lowering of its tone in point of literature and scholarship could have been meant. And the Book Committee being applied to for counsel advised him to "improve, as far as practicable, the literary character of the work." Thus left largely to his own judgment in the matter, he announced, in his introductory editorial, that he would give each quarter one article on biblical or philological criticism, would devote more attention to biblical exegesis than had been before accorded it, would defend the doctrines and usages of the Church, though admitting free discussion on all points, and would take up the leading questions of social and moral reform. It was stated that the titles of books need no longer be placed at the head of the articles sent in; that the critical notices would be more extended and independent; and that two new departments would be added—one for religious and one for literary intelligence.

These promises were thoroughly fulfilled, although not without difficulty. Even Dr. Olin fell in with the idea, prevalent

in many quarters, that the *Review* was entirely beyond the needs and appreciation of the body of ministers for whom it was designed. He wrote:

> The *Quarterly* is about as well adapted to our literature as the archiepiscopal palace of his grace of Canterbury to one of our bishops. The idea of keeping up a dignified periodical for the credit of the Church is preposterous; there is no true dignity where there is no adaptation.

In 1854 the Book Committee advised the editor that the *Review*, as conducted, was "not sufficiently adapted to the practical and utilitarian tastes of the people," and requested him to change its character accordingly. But he replied that he "was not appointed to edit a magazine or a newspaper, . . . and that the *Quarterly* had a distinct work before it as an educator, especially of the rising ministry." In a circular sent to the Conferences of 1855 he said to the preachers:

> Were my judgment convinced I should at once alter the plan on which I have heretofore conducted the *Review*, cut out its foreign literary intelligence, refuse all profound discussions of metaphysical and other learned subjects, and fill it with biographical articles and papers on fugitive topics. Such a course would save me much expenditure of thought, time, and labor; but I cannot do this with a good conscience.

He followed his conscience. He kept the *Review* fully abreast of the age, if not, indeed, somewhat in the advance, making it a stimulant and guide to the literary activity of the Church; investigation was encouraged, and the demands of truth respected. He enlisted in the service of the *Quarterly* the best writers of the time, both without and within the ranks of American Methodism. Among articles of a religious or philosophical nature during his editorship were the following: "Faith and Science—Comte's Positive Philosophy," "The Origin of Evil and the Fall," "The Philosophy of Induction," "The Geology of Words," "The Genealogies of Christ," "The Duty of Fasting," "Public Prayer," and "Divine Providence." Subjects of a more popular nature were not neglected, as may be seen from this partial list: "The New Hymn Book," "Progress of Liberal Principles," "The Eastern War," "The Tract Movement," "The Signs of the Times," "Hungary and Kossuth," "Revival of the Black Arts," "The Prohibitory Liquor Law," "California," "Oregon," "Daniel Boone," "Hannah More," and "John Randolph."

Portraits, because of their large expense (their cost being as great as that of the literary matter), and because they seemed scarcely in keeping with the character which it was designed now to give the *Review*, were discontinued at the beginning of the new series in 1849. Dr. McClintock extended the practice of giving the names of the writers of the articles. The department which was now called "Short Reviews and Notices of Books" took on a far greater prominence than under any previous hand, and speedily showed signs that a master held the pen. The editor's personality stands out in these notices with great distinctness; he is not afraid on fit occasion to condemn with vigor; he wields a trenchant blade flashing this way and that to guard the path to the tree of knowledge. One book he calls "a feeble, ill-contrived, ill-written treatise;" of another he says, its "style is ambitious, inelegant, a bad imitation of a bad model." Of Lydia Maria Child's *Progress of Religious Ideas* he quietly remarks, "The whole work on which the writer has been laboring more or less for eight years is one of the most marvelous instances of toil misspent and talent misapplied that the history of literature affords." Of Parsons Cooke's tirade against Methodism he simply says, "A Congregational minister in New England in the year of grace 1855 might find better business, one would think, than abusing his fellow-Christians." George Gilfillan he calls "a literary quack," but thinks "he has mended somewhat" of late, being "now only in part a charlatan." Of Dr. Nehemiah Adams, author of *A South Side View of Slavery*, he writes, "He accomplishes nothing except making a display of his own amiable weakness." Concerning the autobiography of Leigh Hunt he says, "The tendency of the book, taken as a whole, is evil." That he knew how judiciously to praise as well as blame is manifest from such words as these: "Dr. Olin is, in our judgment, the ablest writer that American Methodism has ever possessed;" Abel Stevens "wields the most versatile and graceful pen known in our Church;" "Take him for all in all, he [Chalmers] was, perhaps, the highest style of Christian minister that this century has produced." The editorship of Dr. McClintock is characterized by the Rev. Dr. W. H. Milburn in the statement that "he brought the *Review* to the front rank of such periodicals," and "gave it a high reputation abroad as well as at home."

VIII. We come now to the man who more than any other has given the *Review* its standing and character, and who for no less a period than twenty-eight years presided triumphantly over its destinies. As the General Conference of 1856 approached several things combined to bring forward Dr. Daniel D. Whedon as a candidate for the editorship of the *Quarterly*. His power as a writer had become thoroughly established, and his great abilities in theology, exegesis, and literature were by this time widely known in the East and the West through his various contributions to the journals of the day and many public addresses. His successful professorship of ten years at Middletown and of seven years at the University of Michigan had raised him up a host of friends. His increasing deafness, together with his strong scholastic bent, largely unfitted him for the pastorate. Moreover, his devotion to the slave, through which he had lost his position at Ann Arbor, emphasized his fitness for high honor in the eyes of the more radical antislavery delegates in the General Conference. He was accordingly chosen, even against so able and popular an incumbent as Dr. McClintock, by a vote of 108 to 99, though he was not a delegate to the Conference. Nor was he a member of any of the six following General Conferences that successively reelected him. In 1860 and 1864 he was elected by acclamation, there being no other nominee. In 1868 a ballot was taken, but out of 227 votes he had 155. In 1872 he had 225 votes out of 366. In 1876 he was elected by acclamation. In 1880 he received 307 votes out of 373. So long as he was physically capable of the strain of the editorship no other man was seriously thought of for this high post. He took hold of the work at once with great vigor, making some excellent changes. He enlarged "Religious and Literary Intelligence," first dividing it into "Religious Intelligence" and "Literary Items," and finally substituted two departments entitled, respectively, "Foreign Religious Intelligence" and "Foreign Literary Intelligence." He introduced a new department called "Synopsis of the Quarterlies," which presented a very valuable *résumé* and criticism of the leading articles in these periodicals. He also gave some space, for a while, at the close of each number to brief editorial remarks. New writers who have since achieved wide fame very speedily appeared. A goodly number of laymen furnished

acceptable articles. Several missionaries discussed subjects relating to their respective fields. Three ladies also appeared among the contributors.

To give anything like an adequate survey of the topics treated during this long period of twenty-eight years would require, of course, too great a space; but some idea of the treat furnished the readers may be gathered from the following partial list. Among the lighter subjects were these: "The Early Camp Meeting Song Writers," "A Plea for the Preacher's Wife," "Is the Modern Camp Meeting a Failure?" "The Hearing Ear," "The Pacific Railroad," "The Modern Novel," "Religious Catalepsy," "Ministerial Transfers," "Toinette," "Plagiarism and the Law of Quotation," "The Wandering Jew and his Congeners," "Florida—Its People and its Productions," "The Territory of Alaska," "The Republic of Liberia—Its Status and its Field," "Utah and the Mormon Problem," "The Medical Profession," "The Temperance Reform," "Silence of Women in the Churches," "Should Presiding Elders be Elected?" "Remarkable Problems of our Population," "Our Sunday School Literature." From all which it will be seen that the demand, perpetually springing up in one quarter or another—shown especially in a resolution favorably reported to the General Conference of 1868 proposing to modify and popularize the *Review* so as to adapt it to a larger class of readers, which resolution, however, was promptly laid on the table—that popular themes be treated so that the average minister might take more interest in the magazine, was heeded to as large a degree as could well be done without sacrificing the true character of the *Quarterly* and lowering it from its proper position at the head of our periodical literature. Of essays having more permanent value, of deeper, more thoughtful disquisitions and discussions touching more scholarly topics, which have ever been and must ever be regarded as the special field of the *Quarterly*, the following titles, a few out of very many, are furnished as specimens: "The Cosmic Philosophy," "German Materialism—the Naturalistic School," "The Modern Theology of Holland," "On the Power of Mind Over Nature," "Illyrian Literature," "The Antiquity of Man," "Methodist Doctrinal Standards," "Persian Poetry," "Egyptian Chronology," "Hindoo Eclecticism," "The Sanskrit Language," "The Religion of the

Athenians," "The Religious Nature of Savages," "Vicarious Atonement," "The Neo-Christianity and its Lessons," "The Nibelungen Lied."

But few portraits were given during these seven quadrenniums, the policy adopted in 1849 continuing. We find, scattered through the volumes as circumstances rendered appropriate, likenesses among others of Dr. McClintock, H. B. Bascom, Egerton Ryerson, R. L. Dashiell, Oliver Hoyt, George I. Seney, William B. Pope, Wilbur Fisk, John Fletcher, Eliphalet Clark, M.D., Bishop Janes, and Dr. Whedon.

The most marked feature of Dr. Whedon's editorship is yet to be mentioned—we mean the book notices. He classified them carefully, a thing which had not been before attempted, and which of itself indicated a purpose to take hold of the work with thoroughness. Besides a section for foreign theological publications, there were such divisions as the following: "Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature;" "Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science;" "History, Biography, and Topography;" "Politics, Law, and General Morals;" "Educational;" "Belles Lettres;" "Pamphlets;" "Miscellaneous." It was frequently the case that as many as fifty books were noticed under these various heads, from twenty-five to forty-five pages being devoted to them. It was the portion of the *Review* first turned to by most of the readers. They were certain to find there masterly delineations, suggestive sentences, pungent paragraphs, and keenest criticisms. Every page gave evidence that the books had been closely scrutinized. An immense amount of pertinent and instructive observation was thrown in at all points. While McClintock was not surpassed in purely literary characterizations and judgment, the new editor promptly showed that in exegesis and theology a king had come to the throne. He was called by *The Independent*, as well as by other great judges, "the best review editor in the country;" and this verdict, we think, will stand.

To fully appreciate this all the volumes must be perused. But a few specimens may serve to indicate the character of the work done. In a notice of Macaulay's *Essays* he writes:

> The greatest master over the power of our English language to express practical human thought that ever wrought its syllables has gone to Westminster Abbey. In clearness, brilliancy, and perfectness of expres-

sion no writer ever surpassed Macaulay. No writer was ever more purely secular. Ignoring the depths below and the heights above, his mind had a rare, clear sight in the horizontal direction. These great essays stand alone in English literature, and will maintain their position during a human "forever."

Referring, in 1871, to a revised edition of Dr. Wakefield's *Complete System of Christian Theology*, he says:

> So rapid, during even the last ten years, has been the progress of thought upon the very fundamentals of theology, such the developments of science and the new forms of skeptical and heterodox attack, that our whole body of divinity needs reconstruction by some master hand.

Commenting on an essay which takes up the first chapter of Genesis, he writes:

> The rhythmical character of that passage, its stately style, its parallelisms, its refrains, its unity within itself, all combine to show that it is a poem. . . . It is, therefore, a grand symbolic hymn of the creation. . . . We no more believe that it is a detail of the process of creation as furnished by modern science than that the description of the New Jerusalem is a true physical picture of the heavenly state. The Bible opens with a primordial apocalypse and closes with a terminal apocalypse.

Here are some remarks which show claws and teeth, yet they are by no means as savage as others which might be quoted:

> What cause demanded the dishonoring innocent white paper with the publication of this worse than worthless trash we are unable to say. It is gospel according to cotton, a prostitution of the pulpit to a crafty defense of national unrighteousness.
>
> We would not give one ounce of Paley's solid evidential sense for an entire volume of transcendental gas, that exhilarates the brains of these glowing intuitionalists who would kick the massy platform of fact from beneath their feet to show how buoyantly they can dance on nothing.
>
> There is one thing very consistent in this production, namely, that genuine nonsense should be expressed in bad English.
>
> When any Methodist minister, in any phase of mind, attacks the system of which he is a part we respectfully desire him to do it well; otherwise he may disparage the Church less by the sharpness of the picture than by the poorness of the performance.

It was, however, against Calvinism that he whetted his blade with greatest delight. We cannot read his burning words showing up with such cogency and conclusiveness the evils of this "absurd and abominable doctrine," as he calls it,

without concurring most heartily with the judgment of another, who has said that no man since John Fletcher has done so much as Whedon to drive Calvinism from pulpit and press and to "bring into prominence in its place the doctrines of a free, a full, and a complete salvation."

We must give two or three of Whedon's sentences on this theme:

> God may as well secure my damnation without anything voluntary as secure it by securing the voluntary. Securing my volition in order that he may secure my voluntary sin and consequent damnation is about the purest piece of sneaking despotism that one could attribute to an omnipotent devil.
>
> The pleasure taken by a man in this doctrine [of election] on the ground that his own dear *ego* is one of the elect is about the most intense form of theoretical selfishness that the human mind can frame.
>
> Such a theology is contradicted by the highest and purest spiritual intuitions written by God's own finger on the tablets of the human soul. God and man therefore pronounce it untruth. It is an insult to man and a libel upon God. It fails to be blasphemy only because the intention of blasphemy is absent. . . . We should fear as a mortal sin to worship the awful phantasm his [Dr. Hodge's] theology pictures. That phantasm we are ethically bound to hate and abhor with all our heart, might, mind, and strength. Should we ethically love that phantasm and thereby become transformed to its ethical likeness we should unquestionably become a devil.
>
> When we see our Calvinistic brother for long years practicing so palpable a contradiction without being able to perceive it we are inclined to ask with the disciples, "Lord, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he is born blind?"

It has been calculated that Dr. Whedon gave to the Church in the pages of the *Quarterly* from his own pen thirty duodecimo volumes of three hundred pages each. The resolutions unanimously passed by the General Conference of 1884 unquestionably voice the universal acclaim. They said:

> The service he has rendered the Church, by the devotion of his ripe scholarship, his extraordinary mental acumen, and his trenchant thoughts, to the work of enriching our literature and supplying intellectual food for both ministry and laity, is worthy of grateful mention and permanent record.

IX. The General Conference of 1884, noting the age and unmistakable signs of physical weakness which had overtaken

the venerable editor of the *Review*, elected Dr. Daniel Curry in his place, by a vote of 193 out of 353. The Conference also voted, on the recommendation of the Committee on the Book Concern, that it would be well to issue the *Review* at lesser intervals and, so far as possible without lowering at all its high standard or jeopardizing its place among scholars of all denominations, to give such additional matter as would commend it to a wider audience among the people. Accordingly a fifth series was begun with January, 1885. It was changed from a quarterly to a bimonthly, six numbers, each of one hundred and sixty pages, being issued during the year, the periodical from this time being known as the *Methodist Review.* The portraits, also, were revived, one adorning each of the first six issues, the faces being those of Bishop Simpson, Bishop Thomson, J. S. Inskip, William Butler, Henry Bannister, and W. Otterbein. In 1886 there were presented likenesses of Bishop Wiley, J. E. Latimer, R. S. Rust, Bishop Scott, Mrs. H. B. Skidmore, and S. D. Rice; in 1887, of Joseph Longking, J. M. Thoburn, J. P. Durbin, and Mrs. Lucy W. Hayes; in 1888, of Bishop Harris and John B. Cornell.

The post was emphatically congenial to the new editor, who had already spent twelve years in the chair of *The Christian Advocate* and four more in that of the *National Repository.* He contributed no less than seven articles over his own name. Some changes were made in the editorial departments, so that this class of matter was now distributed under six heads, namely: "Current Topics;" "Foreign, Religious and Literary;" "Domestic Religious Intelligence" (though this was soon discontinued), "Missionary Intelligence," "The Magazines and Reviews," and "Book Notices." In "Current Topics" he discussed with great vigor such themes as "Unification of Methodism," "The Higher Criticism in Sunday Schools," "Evangelists and Revivals," "About Evolution," "Bishop William Taylor," "The Irish Land Question," "The Second Advent and the Millennium," "Methodistic Views Respecting Infant Baptism," "The Labor Problem in America," "The Mission of Methodism and Methodist Missions," "The Prohibition Movement," and "City Evangelization." Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the book notices—coming as they were supposed to do from the pen of the great debater who rarely had mercy on an opponent—is

the very kindly spirit which they uniformly show. Could these reviews have been written by Daniel Curry, the fierce fighter on many floors? Internal evidence is all the other way. Even in a notice of Hodge on the Romans, which would have called forth from Whedon the most crushing exposure of the manifest absurdities of Calvinism, Dr. Curry is extremely complimentary and indicates but the mildest sort of dissent. In his brief tenure of the office he introduced but few new writers to the public. Nearly all of his contributors had previously enriched the pages of the magazine. A general idea of the themes taken up may be gathered from the following titles: "The Logic of Introspection," "The Cradle of the Aryans," "Migration of Language," "Making the Appointments," "Railroads and Civilization," "The Franco-Chinese Imbroglio," "Madagascar," "Charles Lamb's Essays," "Some Observations on the Greek Article in the New Testament," "Constitutional Law in the Methodist Episcopal Church."

Dr. Curry died August 17, 1887, and Dr. Daniel Wise—Dr. Crooks having refused the election tendered him by the Book Committee—took charge of the five numbers which intervened between that time and the ensuing General Conference, giving great satisfaction to the patrons of the *Review*.

X. In May, 1888, the Rev. J. W. Mendenhall, D.D., already known as a successful author, was chosen editor on the second ballot, having received 291 votes out of a total of 362. In his introductory address he refers to the general demand for some modification of the *Review* whereby it might be more thoroughly adjusted to the age. He says:

> It must assert itself as a potent instrument in the current strifes of the Church with the doctrinal errors of modern thinkers and teachers. It is not a relic of departed giants, but a scabbardless scimeter to be used in everyday encounter with agnosticism, Old Testament criticism, and all the cognate upheavals in the path of Christian culture and progress. . . . Its place is not the quiet hammock in the summer or the cell of the student in the winter, but always the arena of combat where intellectual charlatanry prevails, where the diplomacy of evil is in exercise, where the biblicist is threatened with a cannon ball, where truth is gashed by the archfiend of hell.

With January, 1889, a few changes were made, chief among them being the creation of the "Arena," a department for brief

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discussions and criticisms by contributors. Subsequently was added "The Itinerants' Club," at first under the charge of Bishop Vincent and designed for the special instruction of younger ministers. The *facsimile* signature of writers was also introduced. Another feature made prominent was the symposium, grouping under one general head short articles by different authors on closely related aspects of the same topic. The subjects thus treated during the few following years were "Character," "Theology," "The Heathen," "The New Education," "Language Culture," "The American Republic," "The Historic Episcopate," "The Temperance Movement," "The Christian Sabbath," "Life," "Immigration," and "Divorce."

The main feature, however, of Dr. Mendenhall's administration, and that by which it must chiefly be judged, was a spirited onslaught on rationalism, which was almost immediately inaugurated and was maintained with immense vigor to the end. The editor gave himself up with entire abandon and enthusiasm to this crusade against Old Testament criticism. The editorials in which he denounced those who had strayed from the safe paths of orthodoxy, and whom he regarded as wicked disturbers of the peace, amaze one by their length and number. The following titles show something of the nature of the material so voluminously produced: "Wounded Rationalists," "Rationalism in Pantomime," "Revelation or Reason," "The Limitations of Biblical Criticism," "The Predictive Element in Prophecy," "Christian Scholarship and its Obligations," "A *Résumé* of the Controversy," "The Ethics of the Old Testament," "The Human Quantity in the Holy Scriptures," "The Mechanism of Inspiration," "The Relation of the Old Testament to Christian Faith," "The Crime of the Higher Criticism," "Is the New Testament Safe?" "The Theology of the New Testament," "Critical Study of the New Testament," "The Progress of Criticism," "The True Biblical Criticism," "Heresy and Error." No one can question the belief of the author of these articles that he was divinely called to champion the true faith against a most dangerous foe. Nor will it be questioned that he did magnificent service in marshaling the conservative forces and putting his readers on their guard against such assaults upon Scripture as would destroy its supernatural character. There can be no doubt as to the general approval which

the editor's course elicited from the Church at large. This was especially indicated by the greatly increased subscription list which made the *Review* self-supporting for the first time in a long period; but the most emphatic indorsement of his work is found in the decided vote by which the General Conference of 1892 reelected him—399 out of a total of 453 ballots.

He took an active part in the chief church questions of the day, advocating the introduction of women into the General Conference but not into the ministry, favoring a form of diocesan episcopacy but opposing the election of bishops merely for a limited term, and sternly arraigning "the diabolical alliance with the rum traffic on the part of the Christian community." He secured the writing of a valuable series of articles from strictly conservative scholars on various books of the Bible, such as Isaiah, Job, Daniel, Joshua, Amos, Romans, John, and Mark. The general character of the other contributions solicited or selected may be somewhat judged from the following brief list: "Inspiration and Infallibility," "Progress in Assyrian Research," "Philosophical Idealism," "Industrial Reconstruction," "The Southern Problem," "The Semitic Question," "Recent Explorations in Egypt," "Tendencies in American Economics," "Methodist Laymen," "Jacob Sleeper—A Founder of Boston University," "Major-General Clinton B. Fisk," "John Milton Phillips," "James Porter," "George Bancroft," "Robert Browning," "John Ruskin," "Hospitals, Ancient and Modern," "The Character of Hamlet," "Hell."

Many of the leading writers of the Church contributed to the *Review*. The proportion of college presidents and professors is very striking. Nearly fifty of this class appear in the twenty-four numbers issued by Dr. Mendenhall. Seven bishops are found in the list, and ten editors. Three ladies also appear as contributors. The book notices of the quadrennium give evidence on every page of conscientious labor and critical scholarship. Some two hundred volumes were annually reviewed. Had Dr. Mendenhall been spared to carry out his plans for a second quadrennium his great success would undoubtedly have continued; but fatal disease had seized upon him, and he went from the General Conference, which had given him earthly laurels, to receive a heavenly crown, passing away at Chicago June 18, 1892, just one month after his re-election.

XI. The Book Committee at a special meeting in September chose for the vacant chair the Rev. Henry A. Buttz, D.D., President of the Drew Theological Seminary, who after a full consideration felt constrained to remain at Madison. The Rev. A. B. Sanford, D.D., assistant editor, meanwhile carried on the magazine with admirable skill and entire acceptance. In February, 1893, the Book Committee elected as editor the Rev. William V. Kelley, D.D., a graduate of the Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Conn., in the class of 1865.

The list of those who have guided the destinies of the *Review* during these seventy-five years is not a long one, but it is certainly illustrious. A careful examination of the seventy-five volumes thus far issued profoundly impresses us with the wealth of material presented and preserved. A tempting feast is spread which every lover of wholesome intellectual food cannot fail to enjoy. Topics are provided in all their varied subdivisions—biblical, theological, ecclesiastical, biographical, and philosophical. He who sits down to this banquet hungry will rise up full. We may say of the *Review* in the words of Dr. Elijah H. Pilcher, who prepared with immense labor a complete index to the volumes from 1818 to 1881:

> To the prophetic wisdom of its founders, a fulfillment; to its brilliant succession of conductors, a credit; and to the Church which it so ably represents, an honor—it promises to continue its beneficial career while spiritual life shall animate the denomination which it represents and a love for learning exist in the minds of her servants.

James Mudge.

ART. II.—THE EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA.

THE mysteries and miracle plays of the Middle Ages present a rich mine of poetical material for the modern explorer. His labor will be rewarded by not a few nuggets of virgin gold, although he may have to sift a large quantity of worthless ore to find them. The gems of thought he may discover are in the rough, it is true, unpolished and unwrought, yet they are often precious gems notwithstanding. These plays are interesting as giving vivid illustrations of the manners of our forefathers and of the condition of mediæval society. They exhibit the conceptions of religious truth then entertained, and the mode of its communication to the people. They contain also the germ of that noble dramatic literature which so wonderfully blossomed forth during the Elizabethan era in the writings of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Their origin is somewhat obscure. According to Voltaire they first came from Constantinople, where the Greek drama was Christianized in the fourth century. They were probably brought thence by returning palmers and pilgrims during the Crusades. In France, indeed, there was an order of pilgrims called the Confraternity of the Passion, from their representation of that subject. In England these religious plays seem to have been first exhibited at the universities, and were written in Latin. The monkish influence is very strongly marked on every page. They were afterward written in the common tongue, both in France and England, and are among the earliest relics of the vernacular literature of those countries.

This early drama is of three sorts: the mysteries, the miracle plays, and the moralities. The first represented the principal subjects of the Christian faith, as the fall of man and the nativity, passion, and resurrection of Christ. The second exhibited the miracles of the saints and their astounding adventures. The third were, properly speaking, purely allegorical representations of vices and virtues. They sometimes set forth the parables of the New Testament and the historical parts of the Old; then, however, they became indistinguishable from the mysteries. The voluminous religious plays of Calderon and Lope de Vega partake largely of the allegorical character of the moralities.

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In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these plays were performed in the churches for the instruction of the people; but the monks, finding that the exhibitions of the jugglers at the Easter revels drew the populace away from the churches, gave their plays a more attractive character and performed them in the open air. Reading was an art confined, of course, entirely to the clergy, and the ignorant masses could only vaguely comprehend the dull homilies they heard; but the public representation of the nativity, the passion, or the resurrection, at the appropriate season of Christmas, Good Friday, or Easter, was easily understood and vividly remembered.* But these sacred representations soon became subject to abuse. Droll characters, comic scenes, and ridiculous speeches were introduced in order to excite mirth; and a flippant and irreverent treatment of the most sublime themes became a prevailing vice. Many of the clerical performers degraded themselves to the level of buffoons, and the miracle plays, originally intended to communicate religious instruction, frequently degenerated into broad and indecent farce. The lower clergy adopted this vehicle for the abuse of their superiors, and the rude populace found in them both subjects for burlesque and caricature. Thus the most sacred associations of religion became degraded into objects of vulgar mirth. The language of even the female characters—generally represented by boys, however—was frequently exceedingly coarse, and gives us a low opinion of the manners of the age. The devils, or "tormentours," as they were called, were the clowns of the play, and caused infinite merriment by their rude jokes and buffoonery.

The stage was divided into three parts, to represent heaven, earth, and hell; and very intricate and ingenious machinery was often employed to produce theatrical effect. These stages were frequently on wheels, so that they might be drawn about. The gross ideas of the age concerning the material torments of the damned were faithfully delineated. The monks, doubtless,

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* A passion play is still represented every ten years at Oberammergau, in Bavaria, in fulfillment of a vow made on the cessation of a pestilence in A. D. 1633. As many as five hundred peasant performers take part, and the spectacle is witnessed by thousands of visitors from all parts of Bavaria and Tyrol and from more distant places. The rehearsal lasts several days and, like the Greek drama, is performed in the open air. It partakes of a highly religious character, and the representatives of sacred persons are selected for their piety of life and are set apart by prayer. Similar plays, but of inferior merit, are also performed in the villages around Innspruck.

thought a very salutary lesson was inculcated when a man who refused to pay his tithes or a woman who adulterated her ale or sold too scanty measure was dragged off forcibly to hell-mouth, from which belched fire and smoke. The devils wore flame-colored and grotesque clothing and carried clubs of buckram stuffed with sawdust, with which they vigorously belabored each other and the crowd. In one play Satan and a "nigromancer" dance, when the latter is suddenly tripped up and carried off bodily. Yet the sign of the cross or the invocation of the Virgin or the saints immediately discomfits them; and of holy water they have a mortal terror. In the "Nativity Play" they roar horribly when Christ is born and make a great noise under the stage. The various parts, originally performed by monks, came, in course of time, to be enacted by companies of citizens. Different crafts and guilds vied with each other in the representation of the plays allotted them. The rivalry between the worshipful tanners, chandlers, vintners, mercers, bowyers, skinners, and weavers was keen and exciting.*

When we consider how humble were the talents employed, the majestic sweep and sublime compass of these plays astonish us. They comprehend the entire drama of time, from the creation of the world to the day of doom. Nay, the daring imagination of the monkish writers went back beyond the dawn of time to the counsels of eternity and, scaling the battlements of heaven, laid bare the secrets of the skies. They shrank not from exploring with unfaltering step the regions of the damned, and depicted with Dantean vigor and minuteness the tortures of the lost. They pierced the mysteries of the future and revealed the awful scenes of the last judgment and the final consummation of all things. In recording in his lofty numbers the story of the fall of man and loss of paradise, how far soever he may have surpassed his predecessors, the sightless bard of English poesy, whose inner vision seemed more clear for that the outer ray was quenched forever, could hardly be said to have pursued

> Things unattempted yet, in prose or rhyme.

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* In the book of accounts of these plays some strange charges are recorded; for example, "Item payed for mending hell-mouth, ij d.; for keeping fire at ditto, iiij d; for settying the world on fire, j d.; ij worms of conscience, iij s.; whyte or saved sowles, and ij blake or dampnyed sowles, v s.; baryll for ye earthquakes, ijs.;" etc.

For not only in the miracle plays and mysteries, but also in the still older legendary poem of Cædmon, the Saxon monk, is the same story related with wondrous vigor and sublimity.

The literary execution of these plays, as might be expected, is very imperfect. The most absurd anachronisms and solecisms perpetually occur. The Old Testament characters repeatedly swear—a habit to which they are generally addicted—by "Sanct Peter and Sanct Poule," by "Mahoun and the Sybill." Titles are strangely modernized. The "knights" who crucify our Lord speak of "Sir Pylate" and "Bishop Caiaphas." The devils talk of "Sir Satan" and "Lord Lucifer." The interlocutors in the play quote from "Gregory," "Austyne," and "Sir Goldenmouth." The geography is inextricably confused. The local topography of England is transferred to the fields of Palestine; and London and Paris are familiarly referred to by the shepherds of Bethlehem. The awful scenes of the passion are most painfully realized, and are delineated with all the force and breadth of Rubens's sublime painting. The ribaldry and scurrile jests of the rude soldiery throw into stronger contrast the dread terrors of the scene. The monkish authors do not scruple to heighten the dramatic interest by the introduction of legendary stories, often absurdly, sometimes with wonderfully picturesque effect. English and Latin are strangely intermingled, according to the necessities of the rhyme or rhythm. The writers manifest a sublime disdain of the servile rules of syntax and prosody, and each spells as seems right in his own eyes. The same word will occur in two or three different forms on the same page. The rhymes are frequently so execrable that in some manuscripts and printed copies brackets are used to indicate the rhyming couplets. This was, of course, the very childhood of dramatic art, and it was therefore extremely infantile in its expression; it nevertheless gave token, like the infant Hercules, of a power of grappling with difficulties which was an augury of the glorious strength it was afterward to manifest.

With majestic sweep of thought the drama of the ages is enacted in these plays. All the converging lines of providence and prophecy center in the cross of Christ; and from it streams the light that irradiates the endless vista of the future. Heaven itself seems open, and the vision of the great white throne and

the procession of the palm-crowned, white-robed multitudes pass before us. We hear the "sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies," the choiring of the cherubim and seraphim, and the song of the redeemed in the presence of God. Anon the scene is darkened by the shades of endless gloom, is lurid with the glare of quenchless fire, and awful with the ceaseless wailing of the lost. Compared with these lofty themes the sublimest tragedies of Greece or Rome and their noblest epics pale into "faded splendor wan." What parallel can be drawn between the petty conflict around the walls of Troy, or the wanderings of Ulysses, or the building of a Latin town and the fall of man, the redemption of the world, and the Judgment Day? What terror of Æschylus or Sophocles can shake the soul like the record of the drowning of the world by water or the vision of its destruction by fire? What pathos of Euripides can melt the heart like the tender story of the nativity or the awful tragedy of the cross? The ignorant populace of a petty burgh and the boorish inhabitants of the surrounding country, in that ultimate dim Thule of the West, where such plays were enacted, had brought before their minds, and doubtless often deeply impressed upon their hearts, holier lessons and sublimer truths than Plato wrote or Pindar sung, or than were ever taught by sage or seer in Stoa of the temples or grove of the Academy. And these were no mere poet's fancies. They were solemn realities and eternal verities to their unlettered hearers. The Judgment Day, whose terrors they beheld portrayed, they believed to be at hand—at the very door. Through the purifying flames they felt that they themselves must pass, till the foul crimes done in their "days of nature," were "burned and purged away." Though there may have been little in this homely drama to refine the manners or to cultivate the taste, there was much to elevate and strengthen the character and to project the acts of every day upon the solemn background of eternity. To such Christian teachings as these do we owe the grave and God-fearing Anglo-Saxon manhood of the heroic past. The outcome of such sacred influences may be seen in every great work of our literature, in every noble act of our history—in "Hamlet," "Lear," "Macbeth;" in Milton, Bunyan, Burns; in Cromwell and Hampden, in Sidney and Vane; in the deeds of

Marston Moor and the memories of Plymouth Rock. Wherever the eternal principles of right and justice have met with injustice, oppression, and wrong, whether in battle shock or in council hall, on bloody scaffold or in silent prison, there has been felt and seen the influence of the Christian teachings of the dead and buried ages on the human mind.

A better idea of the general character of the mediæval drama will be obtained from a brief outline and a few extracts than from a lengthened description. The subject is best known to most readers from the short yet characteristic miracle play in Longfellow's poem, "The Golden Legend." The admirers of that noble poem will, doubtless, like to know more of the sources from which it is, in part, derived. From the entire dramatic series, which was generally enacted at Whitsuntide, and sometimes extended into forty different plays,* a tolerably correct idea of the Scripture narrative might be gathered—tinged, of course, with the superstitions and errors of the times. There is frequently among the characters an "expositor" or "doctor," who comments upon the passing events and inculcates the moral to be derived therefrom, somewhat after the manner of the Greek chorus, or rather the corypheus. In the following brief and fragmentary extracts we shall modernize as far as possible the uncouth spelling.

In the opening of the first play, the "Fall of Lucifer," the divine Being thus speaks:

I am Alpha and O;
I am the first and last also.
It is, it was, it shall be thus.
I am the great God, gracious,
Which never had beginning.

Here follows the creation of the nine orders of angels. The pride and ambition of Lucifer are strikingly exhibited. He exclaims:

Above great God I will be guide,
  And set myself here as I ween.
I am peerless and prince of pride,
  For God himself shines not so sheen.

The revolt and punishment of the archangel and the mutual recriminations of the fallen fiends are quite Miltonic.

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*See collections of Coventry, Chester, and Townley mysteries, published by the Shakespeare and Surtees Societies. From these the following extracts are taken.

Next follows the play of "the Creation and the Fall of Man." Adam's prophetic vision, as he looks down the vista of the future and beholds the heritage of woe he has bequeathed to his posterity, is exceedingly impressive. This scene is also the basis of one of the finest episodes in Milton. Eve's yearning affection for her "sweete children, darlings deare," and her agonized grief on the death of Abel are expressed with strong human sympathy. The earth refuses to cover the body of the first victim of murder and rejects it from the grave. Upon the death of Adam, Seth returns to paradise for a branch of the tree of life to plant on his father's grave. From this, in the course of time, was derived the wood of the cross. According to another legend this was the aspen tree which ever since has shuddered with horror at the woeful deed of which it was the instrument. A good deal of humor is introduced into the account of the flood by the contumacy of Noah's wife, a veritable virago who scolds like a shrew and refuses to obey her liege lord's commands:

Noah. Wife, come in ; why standest thou there ?
Thou art ever froward, I dare well swear.
Come in, come in, full time it were,
For fear that lest we drown.
Wife. Yea, sir, set up your sail,
And row forth with evil hail.
For withouten fail
I will not out of this town,
But I have my gossips every one;
One foot further I will not gone.
They shall not drown, by Saint John!
An I may save their life.
But thou let them into thy chest,
Else row thou where thou wist,
And get thee a new wife.

The story of the offering up of Isaac is skillfullly told. Isaac piteously entreats:

If I have trespassed in any degree,
With a rod you may beat me;
Put up your sword if you will be,
For I am but a child.
Abraham. Ho ! my heart will break in three.
To hear thy words I have pitie.
As thou wilt, Lord, it must be,
To thy will I must yield.

Isaac. Would my mother were here with me!
She would kneel down upon her knee,
Praying you, father, if it may be,
For to save my life.

Isaac meekly asks, "Is it God's will I should be slain?" and then quietly submits. He begs pardon for all his faults, craves his father's blessing, sends his love to his mother, and asks to be slain with as few strokes as possible. Abraham kisses him, binds his eyes, and is about to slay him, when the angel arrests his hands. The sacrifice of Iphigenia cannot be compared for pathos with this. The "doctor" expounds the scene as having reference to the perfect obedience, even unto death, of Jesus Christ. A messenger interrupts his lengthy exposition by exclaiming,

Make room, lordings, and give us way,
And let Balek come in and play.

Balaam and his speaking ass are a source of great merriment. Balak, desiring to be avenged on those "false losel Jews," swears horribly at the prophet when they are thrice blessed.

There are also plays about Joseph, Moses, David, and the other leading characters of the Old Testament; but the chief interest of the drama gathers about the life of Christ. The gospel narrative is largely supplemented by legendary lore or embellished by the fancy of the poet, frequently with intense humanness; but sometimes its beauty is marred by coarseness or frivolity. The "Emperoure Octavian" and the Sibyl both prophesy of Christ's advent; and on his birth the gods of Rome fall down, as also do those of Egypt, when he goes thither. Joseph complains that he is only a poor carpenter, who has his meat by his hammer and plane, and so can ill afford to pay the newly levied tax. He and the Virgin Mary arrive, weary and wayworn, at Bethlehem, at the approach of night, and take refuge in a cave used as a stable; and there, between an ox and an ass, that night the Holy Child is born. Joseph is very tender in his bearing toward the virgin mother, addressing her with such fond, caressing words as "Loe! Marye sweete, my darling deare," "my deare hearte root," and other loving phrases. A signal judgment punishes those who dare to doubt her maiden purity. The humanizing influence of these affecting scenes and of this worship of holiness and meekness, of the divine

Child and stainless mother, upon our uncouth ancestry must have been of incalculable benefit. It did much in a rude and stormy age to invest with a tender reverence all womankind, and inspired the iron chivalry of the time with a religious enthusiasm for the succor of human weakness and sorrow.

The play of the "Shepherds" abounds in a good deal of coarse humor and rude mirth. It gives a minute picture of mediæval country life. In some versions a wrestling bout occurs, in others a sheep-stealing plot is discovered. On the whole the shepherds are rather a disreputable set, although one of them self-assertingly boasts that there is

A better shepherd on no side,
From comely Conway unto Clyde.

They lunch on Lancaster jack-cakes and Hatton ale. Their names, too—Harvey, Tudde, Tibbs, and Trowle—have a remarkably English sound. They wrestle and engage in rude horseplay till the voices of the heavenly choir are heard singing, "Gloria in Excelsis Deo." The shepherds were evidently unacquainted with Latin, and offer some very absurd interpretations of the unknown words. When the star appears they sing a doggerel chorus and proceed to offer their rustic gifts to the infant Christ. One gives him a bell, another a spoon to sup his pottage, another a cape, "for he [the giver] has nothing elles." In the meantime the three Gypsy kings have seen the star in the East and bring more seasonable offerings. They arrive at Herod's palace inquiring,

Can you ought say what place or where
A child is born that crown shall bear
  And be of Jews the king?
Servant. Hold your peace, sirs, I you pray.
For if King Herod heard you so say,
He would go mad, by my fay,
  And fly out of his skin.

Herod is at any rate very angry when he hears of the inquiry, and exclaims:

I am the greatest above degree,
That is, and was, and ever shall be;
The sun he dare not shine on me,
  If I bid him go down.

. . . .

A boy, a groom of low degree
To rise against my royalty!
Sir doctor, that are chiefest of clergy,
Look up at thy books of prophecy,
And what thou seest tell thou me.

The "doctor" quotes Jacob's prophecy concerning the Shiloh, when Herod bursts out:

That's false, by Mahound, full of might!
That old vylarde Jacob doted for age.
What presumption should move that peevish page
Or any elfish godling to take my crown?

He rages horribly, and orders the slaughter of the children.

Have done and fill the wine high,
Fill fast and let the cups fly,
  I die, but I have drink.

In the meantime the kings present their gifts to the baby Sovereign of the world. The first gives gold:

For it seemeth by this place
That little treasure his mother has.

The next offered incense, and the third thirty pieces of money—"gilt pennies" they are called. These "pennies," according to the veracious legend, were the identical coins with which Abraham bought the cave of Machpelah, for which Joseph was sold by his brethren, and for which Judas afterward betrayed his Master. Of few things else, save the Holy Grail and the stone on which the English sovereigns are crowned—which last, it is well known, was the very stone that Jacob used as a pillow—can the history be so marvelously traced. "Our Ladye Marie" left most of the presents, with the child's swaddling clothes, in the cave when she fled into Egypt; and there they remained till discovered by the pious Empress Helena! During the flight into Egypt the holy family are attacked by robbers. One of these relents, beholding their poverty; but the other is exceedingly fierce. The infant Christ foretells that they shall both be crucified with him; but that he who had mercy shall find pardon in his hour of doom.

It is in the play of the "Slaughter of the Innocents" that the king of Jewry fairly out-herods Herod in his cruelty. He summons all his barons, burgesses, and baronets—Sir Lanceler, Sir Grimbald, and the rest—to destroy the children. There

are some rather coarse passages of wit between the soldiers and the women, and one cowardly officer is driven off. But the slaughter is completed, and the soldiers toss the dead babies upon their spear-points through the town. Then is heard the voice of lamentation:

Out and out! and wellaway!
That ever I did see this day;
Out and out! and woe is me!
Thief, thou shalt hangèd be!

In the confusion Herod's own son is slain, and the wretched father, smitten with despair, cries out,

Alas! my days now are done;
I wot I must die soon.
Bootless it is to make moan,
For damnèd I must be.

He falls down, writhing with pain and eaten with worms; hell opens, and devils drag him within its horrid jaws. No more tragic and awful poetic justice is there in any drama of ancient or modern times.

There is a striking incident in the play of the "Presentation at the Temple." Old Simeon had been reading the prophecy that Christ should be born of a virgin, which seemed so incredible that he obliterated the expression, but found that it reappeared in red letters; and, having again obliterated it, he was convinced of its divine inspiration by its appearing once more in letters of gold. In Christ's twelfth year, the doctors in the temple observing his attention, one of them remarked:

Methinks this child would learn our law,
He taketh great heed to our talking;

to whom our Lord replies,

You clerks that be of great cunning,
Unto *my* talking take good heed.

Great dramatic vivacity is thrown into the account of the raising of Lazarus. The "prelates," however, think "that lurden Lazarre should be slayne." The merchants whom our Lord drove out of the temple complain to "Bishop" Caiaphas, who with the priests seeks to arrest Christ; but, fearing to do so, they offer money to him who will betray him. Judas accepts the unholy bribe and arranges the time and place of his betrayal of his Master.

The awful scenes of the passion are delineated with a coarse and rugged strength and with a painfully realistic power, which must often have stricken terror to the soul. But amid the rudeness of the ruffian soldiery and the ribaldry of the mocking multitude is heard the gentle falling of woman's tears:

> Alas! alas! and woe is me!
> A doleful sight is this to see.
> So many sick savèd has he,
> And goeth now this way.

The soldiers disrobe the divine Sufferer with many a wanton gibe and jeer:

> "Be thou wroth or be thou fain,
> I will be thy chamberlain.
> This coat shall be mine
> For it is good and fine."
> "Nay, fellow, by this day,
> At the dice we will play;
> This coat withouten seam
> To break it were a shame."

The anguish of the virgin mother is described in a manner exceedingly pathetic:

> Alas! my love, my life, my dear,
> Alas! now mourning, woe is me!
> Alas! thieves, why do ye so?
> Slay ye me, let my Son go.

The "Harrowing of Hell" is a very popular mediæval legend, according to which Christ descends into the regions of the dead, vanquishes Satan, and delivers the patriarchs, prophets, and the ancient worthies who have been waiting for his coming. They greet him with rapture, and he leads them in triumph; while in lofty strophe and antistrophe the angels chant a psalm of victory. Our Lord's greeting to his disciples after the resurrection is very tender and gracious:

> Peace be among you, brethren fair,
> My sweet brethren lief and dear.

Their surprise, fear, doubt, and joyful recognition of the Saviour are admirably described. The ascension, also, is finely conceived. After giving them their commission our Lord parts from his disciples with the words, "I go to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God;" and, as he ascends in mid air, in sublime antiphonies the angels sing his triumphs

over death and hell, the opening of the everlasting gates, and his eternal exaltation at the right hand of God. The Twelve, while awaiting the descent of the Holy Ghost, compose the Apostles' Creed, each one contributing a clause to that first formulated confession of faith. Then follow the unfolding of the prophecies of the Apocalypse, the downfall of antichrist, and the day of final doom. The terrors of the last judgment are strongly limned and must have produced a deep impression on the unsophisticated spectators. The finally saved chant lofty strains of laud and honor to Almighty God, for that their sins have all been burned away in the purifying fires of purgatory; while the condemned lift up their voices in everlasting wailing and despair. Popes, emperors, kings, queens, justices, and merchants in turn confess their guilt and the justness of the eternal bale which is their doom. A condemned pope thus exclaims:

Now bootless it is to ask mercie,
For, living, highest in earth was I;
Also silver and simony
Made me a pope unworthy.

A wicked queen piteously cries out:

Where is my beauty that was so bright?
Where is the baron, where is the knight,
Where in the world is any wight,
That for my fairness now will fight?

The kings of the earth and the great men and the rich men and the chief captains and the mighty men all wail because of the coming of the Judge; for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand? Christ, sitting on a cloud with the instruments of his passion—the cross, the crown of thorns, the nails, the spear—exhibits his body more marred and wounded by the sins of men than by the tortures of his Jewish murderers, and pronounces sentence of final doom. To the saved he sweetly says:

Come hither to me, my darlings deare;
While I was on the earth here
Ye gave me meat in good manere.

. . . . .

Yes, forsooth, my friendès dear,
Such as poor and naked were
Ye clad and fed them both in fear,
And harboured them alsoe.

Turning to the wicked he severely says:

Nay, when ye saw the least of mine
That on earth sufferèd pine,
To help them ye did naught incline;
Therefore go to the fire.
And though my sweet mother deare,
And all the saints that ever were,
Prayed for you right now here,
Alas! it were too late!

Thus ends this remarkable series of religious dramas. Their language may often be uncouth, and their treatment of these lofty themes inadequate and unworthy, sometimes coarse and repulsive, shocking our feelings of reverence and our sense of propriety; but assuredly the drama of no age ever addressed itself to a nobler task, and we doubt if, on the whole, any drama ever better accomplished its purpose. Its object was not merely to amuse, but to instruct—to instruct in the most important of all knowledge, the great truths of religion. Its exhibition of these truths may have been imperfect and mixed with much of error; but its influence, in the absence of purer teaching, must have been most salutary. No man, no woman, no matter how unlettered and rude, could but be awed and solemnized by the contemplation of the sublime subjects which it presented; and doubtless many may have been led thereby to apprehend the saving truths of the Gospel, to forsake sin, and to live godly lives. If this hasty incursion into one of the more obscure regions of English literature should stimulate curiosity to a further exploration of its hidden treasures it shall have accomplished its purpose.

W. H. Withrow.

Art. III.—OUR CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM.

The question of a more clearly defined constitution for the General Conference, now before the Church, practically had its origin in the Episcopal Address of 1888, though for two or three quadrenniums it had occupied the attention of some of the most thoughtful men in the Church. The occasion of its culmination in 1888 was in part found in the rapid increase of the membership of the General Conference. It was a question of seriousness, because it was no other than a question of whether the same little boat would, with its increasing load, still safely reach the other shore. The question as to whether there existed a suitable basis for effective legislation in so large and diversified a body also had its weight. And, in addition, the questions of the proper relationship of the laity to the body and the advisability of the admission of women were determining factors in originating the problem.

The problem, then, was fairly launched by the Episcopal Address. What constitutes the organic law of the General Conference, the Address says, is a matter of paramount importance. "Have we any such thing as a constitution?" the bishops ask. They further say:

> It is scarcely possible to think of this as an open question; yet it does exist, and because it exists we deem it wise to anticipate the possible contingencies of the future by seeking such a settlement of the question as will preclude doubt hereafter in a matter of such vital interest to the Church.

The committee to whom this new problem was referred said in reporting the measure back to the General Conference:

> They are convinced that the organic law of the Church, and especially the constitution of the General Conference, need to be accurately defined and determined; that the method to be pursued in the organization of the General Conference should be precisely and explicitly stated; that the relations of lay to ministerial representations should be more satisfactorily adjusted. They are also convinced that these questions require most thorough and careful investigation.

A commission was appointed to formulate a constitution and present it to the General Conference of 1892. The Constitutional Commission met several times before May, 1892. The question in a high degree engaged their individual and united

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studies, and they were enabled to present as complete a report to the General Conference as the time allowed enabled them to formulate. At the bar of the General Conference of 1892 this constitution was partially considered and also partially adopted. But insuperable difficulties seemed to arise as the Conference advanced in its consideration, and at length, by an almost spontaneous feeling, it was referred for completion to the General Conference of 1896.*

The fact seems to be that the bishops, the committee who had the matter in hand in the General Conference of 1888, the Constitutional Commissioners, and, lastly, the General Conference of 1892, were under a pillar of cloud, rather than of light, as they contemplated the problem. The same feeling that was in the minds of the committee which considered the matter in the General Conference of 1888, that "these questions require most thorough and careful investigation," seems to have spread itself even down to the deliberations of the General Conference of 1892. We think that this is more than ever the feeling to-day in the Church, and it may be seriously doubted whether the problem will be settled by the General Conference of 1896.

In 1784 a new condition of things appeared in America, which was to affect all future civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Mr. Wesley speaks of it as "an uncommon train of providences." The country was about to be erected into an independent empire. The time had come, also, when a new Church, corresponding to the new civic order of things, must also be erected; and so for the first time in the history of the kingdom of God the Methodist Episcopal Church appeared upon the stage of history. What we wish to note here is that it was formed by the Methodist preachers who had remained in America under Mr. Asbury. We note, but cannot here elaborate. In the Address of the bishops to the General Conference in 1888 they say:

> When the General Conference was simply a general convention, consisting of all the elders who might attend, it possessed plenary power and needed no formal or written constitution. It had power to make rules

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* The whole matter, by motion of J. M. Buckley, was indefinitely postponed, with instruction to have the report published in the papers of the Church and presented to the next General Conference. This course was taken by a vote of 233 to 190. John Field had previously moved, "*Whereas*, The report of the Constitutional Committee is too vitally important, involving in many respects our entire economy, to be adopted without the Church

> and regulations for the Church; to fix terms of membership; to make and unmake the episcopacy; to ordain, modify, or annul the General Rules, the itinerancy, or the Book Concern; to prescribe doctrines and standards of doctrine; and to meet as often as it chose and to do what it would. It was supreme, and its members represented only themselves. But when the Church grew to such magnitude that it became impracticable for the whole body of the eldership to meet in convention a delegated body was declared a necessity, and then a written constitution, defining the composition and power of such a General Conference, became as indispensable as was the representative principle in the body itself. Such a constitution was ordained in 1808.

The year 1808 was a distinct advance upon 1784, and yet there had passed a period of only twenty-four years. The body was not under "rules and regulations" except those of its own devising.

Thus far it may be noted that the General Conference was altogether and peculiarly a preachers' institution. Only preachers composed it. Only preachers were concerned in selecting the men who constituted it. We have indisputable ground, then, for the statement that in the first instance the Methodist Episcopal Church was created by the preachers themselves, and created solely for the furthering of the religious work that was upon their hands. We note the fact in no invidious sense, but with a feeling of highest admiration. In a very high sense they acted on the broad domain of natural right. That which was their own they had a right to govern. Mr. Wesley acted on this principle. We emphasize this. Any number of preachers may now go apart and organize a Church according to their own peculiar and, perhaps, just notions. This is what the Methodist preachers did; and thus was started one of the mightiest evangelical movements known to Christendom. And so "all things were theirs" —the Conferences, the Book Concern, and the economy of the Church. In 1784, in 1808, in 1812, and down to 1872, there was not a layman to dispute their primacy in anything. The constitution of 1812, the first under which Methodist *Episcopal* affairs were operated, was a preachers' institution, and was operated by the "elders;" but

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generally having an opportunity of expressing its views; therefore, *Resolved*, That the further consideration of it be postponed until the meeting of the next ensuing General Conference." (See *General Conference Journal*, 1802, pp. 102, 103.) The proceedings all indicate the reluctance to go forward, and perhaps the Church is greatly indebted to that hesitancy.

the constitution of 1872 was one under which ministers and laymen sat together in council, and 1872 will forever stand an epoch in American Methodist history. The writer himself saw the day and helped to bring it in when the laymen of the Church first appeared in her counsels, and he participated in the joy of all the preachers in hailing so auspicious an event. The General Conference before 1872 was the throne of the Methodist preacher; since then it is a forum and arena of the preacher and layman alike. Formerly the preacher was the first and ultimate power in the Church. This preachers' self-made court made law, administered it, and preachers were its supreme judges. Simple evangelists at first engaged in self-chosen ways of preaching the Gospel and organizing believers into societies, and, wholly unambitious, these humble men truly "builded better than they knew." The course their work took was a natural one in an inchoate state of things. We do not see how they could have done other or better than they did.

We pass on to remark that Methodism has been a tentative procedure from the beginning. From the beginning it has only aimed to do the best thing for the time being and to accomplish the work that was stirring her soul. The result to date is a representative, delegated, General Conference of ministers and laymen, a body where the Methodist people are more completely represented than ever before. The state of things that confronts the Church at the present time is not an inchoate state of things. It is rather the most complicated and extraordinary state of things that has ever presented itself to a well-organized people for solution. We should not be discouraged if 1896 does not solve the problem.

Without further preliminaries we proceed at once to remark that the coming constitution should be a constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and not a constitution of the General Conference.* In the same sense in which the bishops, in their 1888 Address, asked if the General Conference had a constitution, we ask, Has the Methodist Episcopal Church a constitution? This, we take it, is the largest concern. Practically, the Church has no formulated constitution; what she has is in

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* The report of the Commission seems to see this but vaguely, and as a result of this two things seem jumbled—an "organic" law of the Church and a Constitution of the General Conference, and in the minds of the Commission the General Conference *seems* to be altogether the larger thing of the two.

a nebulous condition. But the General Conference has a constitution, one that is larger and almost as specific as the decalogue given to Moses. In these two facts lies largely the problem before the Church. The existence of a Church without a constitution and a body in that Church with a constitution creates an anomaly. It would be paralleled if the United States had no constitution and Congress possessed one; that is, if the Congress of the United States governing the United States, and not the United States governing Congress. As plainly, it seems to us, is the General Conference governing the Church, instead of the Church governing the Conference. What is needed to solve the problem is a constitution that shall reverse these conditions.

We have seen that in the beginning the ministry was the greatest power; indeed, was so much the only power that the Church would never have appeared without them. But now, as a result of the shiftings of the very things these preachers created, another all-important factor, the Church, appears. Once the preachers were greater than the Church; now the Church is greater than the preachers. Now is it not the greater rather than the lesser thing that needs a constitution? Not the county, but the State, not the State alone, but the nation of which the State is a part, must have a constitution. Not Conferences of any kind—quarterly, annual, or general—need constitutions so much as the Church, of which all these are parts and instruments. If the Church has such a constitution as her greatness and her work absolutely demands, "Cushing's *Manual* will be enough for the General Conference, especially if it is well enforced." Let it be noted that it is not the General Conference that needs more power—many fear it would be perilous to give it more; but additional power should be given to the Church, so that in her accumulated and rapidly increasing possibilities she may be able to execute her plans in whatever part of the world she may be called to operate. This can be found only in a well-conceived and much-demanded constitution.

But how shall such a constitution be obtained? First, it should spring from the very genius and accumulated wisdom of Methodism. The little *stadia* of our Methodism are as distinctly marked to the Methodist student as the marches of Xenophon to the classical. Whenever in the past an exigency

has been reached in her growth and expansion her wisdom has provided for the occasion. This is a marked feature in the beginnings of her circuits and Conferences. And in all the Conferences down to 1777 she possessed the denominational ken. So in the Conferences from 1778 to 1781. In 1784 her genius of management rose to the highest watermark. The experiment and failure of the "council," the idol of Asbury for a moment, illustrates the larger wisdom that was abroad among the preachers and people. Is it too much to believe that Methodist good sense is greater and broader to-day than at any time in the past? And is not that wisdom more intensive and ambitious to accomplish the great purposes of Providence, which are clearer to-day than ever before? In accordance with the spirit of the country—the new world—in which she has found her marvelous growth, and whose very spirit she loves and breathes, the General Conference of the Church in 1896 should set on foot all plans preliminary and necessary for the securing of a constitution for the Church.* This will be far better than wrangling over a constitution for the General Conference itself, and will be rising to the dignity of the occasion.

In so grave a matter it would be venturesome to enter on a suggestion of details. Yet much detail ought to be considered. There should be, for instance, an equal number of ministers and laymen from each Annual Conference; and the laymen elected to the Quadrennial Conference should, in all cases, be elected by the Church and not by the Quarterly Conferences. Power should at some point arise directly from the people. We would also have it specified that one half of the lay representation should be women. The missionary and domestic work now in the hands of the women of the Church is very great and is daily increasing; and her admission to the counsels where things receive their first shaping would be a manifestation of business sense of a high order. Then a policy should be inaugurated looking to a parity of the Annual Conferences as to ministerial members. Allowing only four representatives from a Conference—two ministers, one layman, and

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* Colonel John W. Ray, in his very pertinent and wise minority report of the Commission, says: "We are living in a nation where the people are familiar with the usual forms of civil government. A Church that must of necessity have to deal with the same people should make its forms of government, as far as possible, conform to the civil" (*General Conference Journal*, p. 400).

one woman—one hundred Conferences would give a membership to the General Conference of four hundred, a body, under these conditions, almost too large for business.

Secondly, a larger commission than ever should be appointed by the General Conference of 1896 to formulate the constitution for presentation to the General Conference of May, 1900. It should be composed of equal numbers of laymen and ministers, and should have permission to sit at pleasure.

Thirdly, the theological creed of the Church should be left untouched. If touched at all it should be diminished rather than increased. We see to-day how Churches of large creeds are being rent and torn. The tendency of the times is toward the Bible without note or comment. Intelligence is universal, and each man is able to form his own creed. At any rate, there should be nothing more than a revision of the phraseology of our Articles and the cleansing off of the excrescences and barnacles which, in a hundred years, have gathered on the bark of our Zion.

Fourthly, the powers of the episcopacy should be so defined and settled that we can go forward another hundred years with a stronger faith in this sheet anchor than ever before.

Fifthly, there should be a supreme court provided for, as a check to all hasty and unwise legislation. It, too, should be composed of ministers and laymen in equal numbers. Office in this should be for life, and the court should always be in session at the sittings of the General Conference. This would allow all the delegates to sit and deliberate and vote together on the common interests.

However great and intricate the problem may appear, we believe there is wisdom in the Church sufficient for its solution. That the plan submitted to the last General Conference and now before the Church is inadequate we believe to be the general feeling. The solution of the problem should be earnestly sought. The rate of increase in our Church is unparalleled in the whole history of the Christian religion. The first Methodist preaching in America was not earlier than 1766. The first Methodist church was built in 1768. There were only four Methodist preachers on the continent in 1770. Asbury and Richard Wright did not land on our shores until 1771. In 1773 there were 1,160 members and 10 preachers. In 1784 there

were 14,988 members and 83 preachers. In 1792 there were 266 preachers and 65,980 members. In 1808 there were 540 preachers and 151,995 members. We cannot continue the enumeration. Look at the case as it now stands. By our latest returns there are 16,454 preachers alone, while the membership stands at 2,524,053. With these data before us the thought is irresistible that something more than a constitution of the General Conference is needed, even a constitution of the Church itself, in which the General Conference may be defined in its place as the chief instrument of her power.

We close our reflections by referring to one thing more, but only in a suggestive way. If the time has come when our Methodism, by the very volume of her power, must seek for additional constitutional safeguards, is it not pertinent that all American Methodism be brought into counsel? May not the evils that have come from a century of probation and conflict be thus eliminated, and a more vigorous and impetuous Methodism than has yet been known file out into the fields of the new century?

B. J. Rawlins

Art. IV.—THE METHODIST DOCTRINE OF FREE WILL.

Of all the great denominations of Christendom Methodists alone decidedly and unanimously teach the doctrine of free will. Why we stand alone in this respect it is difficult to see. What connection can there be between foreordination and immersion? Why should Low Church Episcopalians incline toward predestination and those of the High Church lean toward free will? The Congregationalists have saturated New England with Calvinism; but as each local church formulates its own creed the new societies, feeling the spirit of the age, experience a relapse and reaction from the teachings of the Puritan fathers. Luther and Melanchthon, though believers in predestination, sensibly concluded not to make any dogmatic statement of it for their followers; yet the broad, creedless State Church of Germany is Calvinistic. Even Arminius did not succeed in planting Arminianism in his native land. The Council of Dort condemned his doctrines after he was dead. But Wesley and Fletcher embodied them in the very heart of Methodist theology; while the fathers and founders of American Methodism made free will the keynote in their cheery and trustful song of love divine—

> A lay
> Whose melody shall haunt the world for aye,
> Charming it ever on its golden way.

So Methodism has been unswerving in its teachings on this subject from the days when Susannah Wesley wrote her admirable letters to her son, through all its after history, making old England and young America ring with the proclamation of free will, free grace, and universal redemption.

It was Augustine, in the year 412, that first formulated those dreadful doctrines which are embodied in the Augustinian theology, in opposition to poor Pelagius, held up as an Antinomian and a heretic, while this hot-headed and doughty defender of divine sovereignty was canonized as a saint.

John Calvin, in the sixteenth century, a man of rich genius and powerful personality, systematized the teachings of Augustine in the famous *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. From his throne of power at Geneva he almost ruled both Church

and State. He laid such stress on the dogma of divine decrees that the whole system which embodies that dogma bears his name. From this standpoint he could see no contingency; all was doomed, decreed, eternally fixed, as though God cared more for the glory of his omnipotence than for the glory of his redeeming grace.

Thomas Carlyle imagines a monument over a dead lion, setting forth how many sheep he had slaughtered and how many kids and hares he had consumed. Calvin seems to have erected a similar monument to the Most High. He would have glorified Vesuvius, belching flame and stones, rather than Hermon and Tabor, with sunny slopes and glowing summits luring men's thoughts from earth to heaven. A great part of mankind doomed to glorify God's punitive justice! Justice, indeed! The other part of mankind picked out, with or without reason, like jewels from the mass of uncleanness, to shine in praise of divine love! But what kind of love is it that can create beings to be the objects of wrath? What kind of humanity is it that can be resigned to such a selecting and setting apart of individuals? What a self-complacent kind of theology is that which can coolly submit to seeing millions of creatures doomed to hopeless woe to satisfy absolute and eternal justice—or, according to the Hopkinsian putting of the case, "for the good of the universe"—while the favored few are allowed to look on from the heights of supernal bliss?

And yet, on this strong meat were nourished such stalwart Christians as Cromwell and William, Prince of Orange, together with the Roundheads and Covenanters and Puritans and the heroic Huguenots; Blaise Pascal, also, and the Jansenists; John Knox and Thomas Chalmers and Robert Hall; that princely preacher, George Whitefield, and that king of the modern pulpit, Charles H. Spurgeon; with myriads of men and women of whom the world was not worthy—only showing how much better people can be than their creed. Whittier, in "My Namesake," suggests a beautiful apology for them as well as for himself:

> For, awed by Sinai's Mount of Law,
> The trembling faith alone sufficed,
> That, through its cloud and flame, he saw
> The sweet, sad face of Christ.

In the middle of the eighteenth century that man of might, Jonathan Edwards, set the seal of his master mind on New England thought and the theology of the Christian world. It was during his ministry at Northampton that he preached and published those powerful sermons which produced such overwhelming effects, especially the one entitled, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." The very title is enough to make one shudder. No doubt his eloquence was terrific and appalling. No wonder some of the congregation held to the backs of the pews to prevent themselves from sliding into hell! But were such lurid pictures of fire and blood and wrath true to the facts as found in gospel teaching? Did the powerful preacher truly represent God, or did he misrepresent and blaspheme his Maker? It must be confessed that about the same time, beyond the sea, some of the coadjutors of Wesley often preached sermons hardly less sulphurous and sanguinary. See the published sermons of the Rev. Joseph Benson. Yet there was an essential difference between Joseph Benson's Deity, who provided a hell into which no sinner sank save by the weight of his own deservings, and the Deity of Jonathan Edwards, who, as it seems to us, surrounded the sinner with such a resistless maelstrom of motives, passions, and decrees that he must inevitably be sucked into the all-devouring sea of wrathful retribution.

It was in 1754, while living in the lonely little village of Stockbridge, Mass., that Edwards finished that masterpiece of argument, his *Essay on the Freedom of the Will*, by which he really meant the bondage of the will; for the only freedom he allowed was the freedom to act according to the will. In fact, the will was in his eyes synonymous with "the affections." His reasoning in reference to the prevailing motive is almost unanswerable. Edwards considers foreknowledge as implying foreordination, just as future events imply present facts and grow out of those facts. Bledsoe, in his *Theodicy*, answers with a summary sneer, "As if Omniscience had not ways of seeing the future which we know not of!" But that is not an answer. The question at issue is, Can a contingent future be foreseen, even by a Being of infinite foresight, and yet remain contingent? To this question Calvinists reply with a thunderous and unanimous "negative!"

Dr. L. D. McCabe escapes the logic of this conclusion by the startling and almost confounding theory—not original with him—of "divine nescience." Possibly it may be the only consistent solution of the problem of evil, which, in its Arminian form, would be, "Could not the Deity have created beings that would not have sinned?" Possibly it would have been contradictory and impossible to create free moral beings who would not, soon or late, fall into sin. Possibly, also, as Bushnell in his chapter on "Sin," in *Nature and the Supernatural*, has almost demonstrated, the fall, and sin itself, may be overruled for the highest welfare of the race. But, in any case, in perfect accord with freedom, a free agent can be foreseen, both by a finite and an infinite mind, as doing certain acts without being bound and compelled and eternally predestined to do them. Character and habit merge into moral certainty, and yet remain essentially free.

One of the most original and baffling arguments in Edwards's treatise on the will is that on the infinite series of choices presupposed in every act of choice—infinity in a finite intelligence. Yet we may find that this apparent *reductio ad absurdum* is really a *petitio principii*. It seems to take for granted that mind is merely mechanical, having no self-originating energy to determine its own actions. The very idea of will implies the "self-beginning of activity," so that to speak of free will is a mere tautology. If the will exists at all it is free; if not free it is practically nonexistent.

It was reserved for our own Dr. Whedon not only to besiege and capture, but to demolish, this strong fortress of Edwardsian logic. Whedon meets Edwards squarely, fairly, and triumphantly. Some of our Methodist controversialists, notably the late able and venerable Dr. Curry, compromised with Calvinism to some extent and talked about "the guilt of original sin," as the younger Edwards and the late President Smith and Dr. Hodge, Jr., in his debate with Curry, at Chautauqua, compromised with Arminianism; but Whedon has shown that any other than individual and responsible freedom is only "a clock-hammer freedom," which admits of no accountability. The clock "can keep better time than we with all our wits;" but no one in possession of his wits would ever think of punishing the clock even if it did not keep quite accurate time.

The trouble with Calvinistic predestination is that it is not preachable, not talkable, and not even thinkable. It will not stand the test of practical application. The poet Lowell makes the irrepressible Hosea Biglow say:

> The fust thing for sound politicians to larn is,
> Thet Truth, to dror kindly in all sorts o' harness,
> Mus' be kep' in the abstract. . . .
> No, never say nuthin' without you're compelled tu,
> An' then don't say nuthin' thet you can be held tu;
> Nor don't leave no friction idees layin' loose
> For the ign'ant to put to incend'ary use.

May we not be allowed to commend this astute advice to the defenders of an impracticable and impossible creed? Why hold on to it as with a death-grasp ruled by Calvin's dead hand from his very grave, trying to soften its asperities, and still keep mumbling the decrees as Roman priests do the mass in an unknown tongue, patching new pieces of truth to old garments of error worn in the Dark Ages, when might made right? Why not throw away these dark and dismal dogmas that dishonor God and outrage common sense, and if we must believe in the "five points" of Calvinism say nothing about it, but let the people simply repent and believe the Gospel?

Our Methodist fathers, like our Revolutionary sires, raised an insurrection against "the Stamp Act" bearing the impress of Calvin's iron hand, and tossed into the sea of oblivion the worse than British tea of Calvinistic teaching; but, as in the days of King George the taint of Toryism was felt, so even among the early Methodists the touch and taint of Calvinism were sometimes seen. Unguarded expressions floated in the air—half-truths, the most dangerous kind of errors. One of these was, "No merit in any creature," which would logically imply no demerit, no guilt, no need of forgiveness, and no need whatever of the atonement.

The doctrine of "total depravity" needs an Arminian restatement; otherwise, it locks us up in Calvinism. It has led many a man to hide behind his own helplessness and do nothing toward the salvation of his own soul. Our seventh article of religion says man is "very far gone from original righteousness," which is true; but when that article came from the Calvinistic Synod of Dort it read, *elapsus quam longis-*

sime, "gone as far as possible." That was total depravity in its Augustinian sense, which Wesley did not accept. No being was ever born totally depraved, for that would imply depravity so deep, so intense, so terrible that it would make man a fiend, or worse—a mass of malignity, a fiery coal of iniquity wicked enough to destroy a universe. If depravity is limited at all it is not total; if unlimited, it is demoniacal.

The doctrine of "justification by faith" was tainted with Luther's Augustinianism, so that Wesley found it necessary to restate it and join with it the doctrine of a divinely imparted life, implying always a willingness to do "works meet for repentance." He fought the solifidians of his day; and Fletcher, in his "Fifth Check," exposed Antinomianism as anti-Methodistic, unscriptural, and destructive of all moral life. Its dismal ghost still skulks around our Methodist altars, telling our penitents to believe they are saved and they are saved. Luther's doctrine of faith was dogmatical, narrow, one-sided, born of reaction, bare, unqualified, capable of abuse, tending to liberalism and laxity of life, as witness its fruits in the fatherland of to-day. Luther has failed to regenerate Germany.

Free will accords with human responsibility. Once admit that human actions are necessitated, and we play into the hands of atheistic evolutionists, who make man's mind the product of primal matter and force. In thought we can take one leap from the slime of the sea to the brain of a man and all the cerebral activities that spring therefrom. Free will breaks the leap, or makes it impossible. Martineau, in *A Study of Religion,* founds his whole magnificent argument on man's will power and its analogy with the will power of a great First Cause. Herbert Spencer might well dread the admission of will, either in God or man; for it would mar his whole theory of sociology as a science. What though the waves of heredity roar and rage; the "awful hand" of an almighty Maker may, in a moment, curb their power. What though man be snow-bound with drifts of "environment;" one touch from the finger of free will may make the snowdrifts dissolve away. Thus the relentless science of necessitous sociology is beautifully spoiled. And hence the cry, "Away with free will, out of the universe!" But, thus far, it has stubbornly refused to be banished.

When Professor Tyndall, in his celebrated Birmingham address, undertook to prove that physical forces contained "the promise and potency of life," what answer could his challenger have given; since Tyndall could have reminded him that more than half the creeds of Christendom practically admit man to be little more than a machine—an aggregate of links for the transmission of eternal forces? With such philosophy and such theology where will one find a place for either praise or blame—where find the point at which responsibility comes in, unless it is dragged in by main strength and all manner of logical and rhetorical awkwardness?

Free will is in accord with consciousness. The only power in the universe of which we are conscious is positive, personal will power. Who can believe that the Creator has stamped a lie upon the consciousness of his creatures? There is no use in arguing the point, unless we join hands with Kant in admitting the reality of nothing except his *Ding an sich;* or with dreamy Fichte and Hegel and poor, pessimistic Schopenhauer, who thought life was not worth living, till, one day, an army invaded the town he lived in, when, throwing his philosophy to the winds, he fled for his life as fast as legs and wheels could carry him. As Martineau well says, "The first condition of a sound mind is to plant a firm trust on all beliefs and feelings involved in the very existence of the natural faculties; and the collapse of this condition opens the way to illimitable aberrations." And so, sensible and practical men, who believe in the reality of their own sensations, perceptions, and intuitions, may safely say, with Samuel Johnson, "We know the will is free, and there's an end of it."

Free will accords with the justice and beneficence of God. Can it be that the "passing by" of the reprobate is any great improvement on a direct consignment to perdition? Would a beneficent and faithful shepherd select a few of his flock to be safely gathered into the fold and pass by the remainder, leaving them to be devoured by wolves? Are we not justified in the inference that whatever is manifestly unworthy the character of God cannot possibly be true? We should have no difficulty in drawing such an inference, only we are so afraid of making the Deity anthropomorphic that we are in danger of making him unnatural and inhuman. As Whittier says,

The riddle of the world is understood
Only by him who feels that God is good,
As only he can feel who makes his love
The ladder of his faith, and climbs above
On th' rounds of his best instincts; draws no line
Between mere human goodness and divine;
But, judging God by what in him is best,
With a child's trust leans on his Father's breast,
And hears unmoved the old creeds babble still
Of kingly power and dread caprice of will,
Chary of blessing, prodigal of curse,
The pitiless doomsman of the universe.
Can Hatred ask for love? Can Selfishness
Invite to self-denial? Is he less
Than man in kindly dealing? Can he break
His own great law of fatherhood, forsake
And curse his children? Not for earth and heaven
Can separate tables of the law be given.
No rule can bind which he himself denies;
The truths of time are not eternal lies.

Ex-President McCosh, as the result of his researches in trying to solve the problem of sin, concludes, "(1) that God is not the author of evil; (2) that every intelligent creature that sins has himself to blame for it." True; but these twin propositions can never be put to sleep together in a Calvinistic bed. They will cry and fret and fight

Till the sun grows cold
And the stars are old,
And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold.

What shall the end be? Let us, like the Calvinists, forecast the future from the present. Some great authorities in psychics and ethics, such as Dr. Noah Porter and Dr. Samuel Harris, of Yale, now talk of will as a distinct department of the mind; and others, here and beyond the sea, are slowly coming up to the standpoint held long ago by our fathers, whom the world looked upon as "unlearned and ignorant men." And although some fledgling fresh from the nest of the divinity school may venture to preach a sermon on election or reprobation, yet, before he is through preaching, he will be likely to invite one and all to come to Christ, though, theoretically, he has just proved conclusively that their feet are bound so that they cannot come.

The old war cries are hushed, or uttered only with husky and hesitating voice, accompanied by many an apology and explanation; so that they do not startle and shock us as of yore. Calvinism, once a dark mountain looming up into the sky, shows signs of dwindling down into a hillock, which shall, we trust, at last become a mere mound, looking like a deserted and dishonored grave; while Arminianism, sun-crowned, breezy, beautiful, shall become a great mountain and fill the whole earth. Our beloved Methodism is well fitted to be the religion of the coming centuries, brightening and gladdening the world, till the millennial glory shall be ushered in.

> Through the harsh noises of our day
> A low, sweet prelude finds its way;
> Through clouds of doubt, and creeds of fear,
> A light is breaking, calm and clear.
> That song of Love, now low and far,
> Erelong shall swell from star to star!
> That light, the breaking day, which tips
> The golden-spired Apocalypse!

J. M. Griffith.

Art. V.—FORMS OF BELIEF IN TRANSMIGRATION.

Transmigration, metempsychosis, and like terms stand for a doctrine old and widespread. The doctrine is that the soul passes, after this life, into other bodies, human or animal, into various substances or successive places. It implies preexistence; and its original logic was in the persistence of life assumed by the earliest thinkers. Forms of the teaching inhere in systems spiritualistic, materialistic, nihilistic.

Egypt, more than two thousand years before the Christian era, included such a doctrine in its religion. In the most ancient of the sacred books of the Egyptians, *The Book of the Dead*, preserved in papyrus rolls or inscribed on coffins, mummies, and walls of tombs, the belief is found. While it is clear that the immortality of the soul was held by these ancient people, it is not so clear what form their ideas of immortality took. Rawlinson ascribes to them a transmigration penal and expiatory, and hence confined to persons dying in sin. From the "Hall of Law, or Truth," to which all souls go immediately after death, the righteous are conducted by good spirits to the "Pools of Peace," the dwelling places of the blest. After three thousand years the soul, reuniting with the body, lives again upon the earth. Ultimately the highest blessedness is attained—absorption into the divine essence, whence the soul originally came. The wicked from the "Hall of Law" are, for purposes of purification and punishment, sentenced "to a round of transmigrations in the bodies of animals more or less unclean," the number and variety being determined by the demerits of the deceased. Incurable souls are, at a second judgment, condemned to annihilation. Renouf, on the other hand, makes their transmigration, which he denominates "transformation," the highest reward of the righteous. Wicked souls go from the "Hall of Law" directly to an inferno, to endure untold sufferings at the hands of demons. The happy dead are conducted to the "blissful place," whence they are given the range of the universe, and, at their own will, can appear in any form they please. It is significant that in the *Records of the Past* the usual request for the deceased is the power to come and go everywhere "under any form they like."

Some have seemed to find transmigration in the religion of Persia. In the *gathas*, or hymns, of the *Avesta*, written in the early Persian language and among the most ancient of books, the doctrine of final rewards and punishments is found. The later portions of the *Avesta* teach distinctly the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and its preexistence apart from the body. But, when mention is made of souls after death entering other bodies, the general tenor of the *Avesta* would lead to the conclusion that a resurrection of the body is implied rather than a transmigration of the soul.

Transmigration has its place in the thought both of Greece and Rome. The rise of the doctrine in Greece has been attributed severally to Thales, Pherecydes, and Pythagoras. Of Pythagoras it is represented as the distinctive doctrine; and Plato, whether he believed it or not, put it into his *Phædrus*. Neoplatonism included it. It held to preexistence. The good, after this life, go to the higher and purer regions of the universe, the inordinately bad go to Tartarus, while the generality live again in human or animal bodies. The deeds done in the life just ended measure the character and variety of the births to come. Plato extends the cycle even to ten thousand years. The spirit passes at first into human bodies, thereafter into lower animal creation, thence into human bodies again. Its element of preexistence was the hypothesis for present phenomena of consciousness. The presence of the doctrine among the Greeks has been variously accounted for. Most probably it came through the western drift of Eastern thought. At least two centuries before Pythagoras or Pherecydes it appeared in the Brahmana texts of India. According to Herodotus, Pythagoras imported it from Egypt; but a recent Hibbert lecturer sees in it nothing utterly foreign to previous Hellenic modes of thought. If, as very recent investigation seems to disclose, the Egyptian doctrine was of the nature of an immediate reward, that country could not have supplied the pattern.

Among the Romans, Ennius in his *Annals* versifies the doctrine in a representation of Homer. Its descent from the Greeks is not unnatural.

With India, and Brahmanism preeminently, are associated predominant religiousness, an arrogant priesthood, a rigorous caste system, and transmigration. In the oldest religious book of the

Hindoos, the *Rig-Veda*, Max Müller and Sir Monier Williams find no trace of transmigration. Not till the period of the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*—the seventh and fourth centuries B. C. respectively—do the germ and then the plant of the doctrine appear. It came to be the Hindoo corollary to their belief in immortality—a belief dimly appearing in their remotest hymns and becoming clearer and clearer till the rise of Budhism. The fact that features of their doctrine appear in the older one of the Egyptians will modify the opinion that the Hindoo was the inventor. The renewed lives, both for punitive and rewardable purposes, have for their theater this earth. At death the saint goes to a temporary heaven and the sinner to a temporary hell; thence to return to earth and be "reborn in a higher or lower caste of human life, into animal, vegetable, or mineral, according to good or evil deeds." Should one lose human birth he must, say the *Puranas*, pass through eight million births among inferior creatures before restoration to the human. The memory of the happiness or suffering of previous lives is not retained in any subsequent life. The highest end in transmigration is to be born a Brahman; thence absorption takes place into "the Divine," "the Highest Self," "the Absolute," "the Immortal." Transmigration, once adopted by the Hindoos, led to beliefs and practices thought to be collateral. All animal and some vegetable life took on a special sacredness. Their primitive animal worship became emphasized and elaborated. The masses imbibed the belief that men of excessive evil natures passed into demons, the cause of untold crimes and calamities. It eventually became an effective weapon in the hands of a dominating hierarchy.

Buddhism, a development from Brahmanism, a protest against it, and its supplanter for nearly a thousand years, spread beyond India and became the nominal religion of at least a fifth of the human race. It deals with an actual universe and concerns itself not as to origins. Its omnipresent agent is "cause and effect," assumed to account for everything. "Change and decay around it sees"—a universe rolling on through mutation, destruction, renovation, whose beginning and ending are alike unknowable and unknown. Man, a part of the universe, is a compound of impermanent physical qualities and mental powers. Unlike the man of the Brahman sys-

tem, he has no soul, no separate entity continuing to exist after death. Belief in a soul is catalogued by Buddhists with the sixteen great heresies. This invention or heresy is a link in a chain of causes producing intensified and protracted sorrow and despair. A prime mark of Buddhist conversion is freedom from the "delusion of self." The huge mass of men, angels, and animals is but one order of sentient beings. This soulless man finds himself in a world subject to suffering, the effect of a cause—wrongdoing in this or a previous existence. His present life is but one of a succession of lives of varied forms. The transmigration may be up in higher orders and more virtuous births, down in grosser and more painful, or up and down in irregular and mixed series. There is no prescribed number or kinds of existences; in proportion to the result of each life must be the number and variety of future births. As there is no soul the Buddhist transmigration, so called, is not the passage of the soul through different bodies. Nor is it the birth of the identical being into new forms. When a man or other sentient being dies a new being is produced. This new creature is a "result" of the good or evil contained in the former being. If the good has predominated the birth is of higher order, and *vice versâ.* Death to a man is the utter dissolution and dissipation of his constituent parts. Nothing whatever remains but *karma*—the effect, result, deserts of his thought and action, plus the aggregated, concentrated, focused good or evil of all his predecessors in the series of transmigrations. From this airy something, this effect, this result, this cold abstraction, this hazy identity, a new being comes forth, having no consciousness of a prior existence and no knowledge of what its predecessors had been or its successors will be. No wonder that Buddhism includes this linking or bridging of lives among its "four mysteries!" The causal *nexus* is not over clear.

From this concatenation of sentient existences with different degrees and innumerable forms of suffering Buddhism proposes deliverance through the "fourfold" or "eightfold path," familiar to readers of its literature. The cause of suffering is "thirst" for or "lust" of life—life in this world or continuous, identical existence in a future—a soul thirst when there is no soul. As each stage or path is made an increasing degree of moral perfection is attained, till all evil is extinguished and,

therefore, suffering and the possibility of further existences. This is *nirvana.* Whether *nirvana* is a conscious state or annihilation is a question much discussed. In the primitive conception did it not begin with conscious bliss and end in annihilation? The word signifies "extinction," "going out." Is it not first extinction of evil, producing the conscious *summum bonum* for a period proportioned to the grand total of "result" or "demerits," merging into complete "going out"—the annihilation of consciousness?

But Buddhism as it was in India is not Buddhism as it is throughout Asia. What it is not is a more natural question than what it is. The most diversified, adaptive, eclectic, and changeful of religions, it is materialistic, atheistic, theistic, polytheistic according to viewpoint. Its theories of transmigration change accordingly. As in Christianity there is diversified and contrary teaching of eschatology, so in Buddhism there is much diversity upon transmigration. In this respect the Christian views Buddhism with no greater bewilderment than does the Buddhist Christianity. To the question, What is transmigration? proposed to Buddhist authorities in Japan, a Japanese professor of his country's history and literature, familiar with oriental cults, answers:

> Japan Buddhists are divided into spiritualistic and materialistic schools. Both believe in transmigration through or into other bodies. According to the former the finality is absorption into the Absolute. According to the latter the end is annihilation.

A Buddhist priest writes:

> My sect is not materialistic. We believe in the transmigration of the soul, not as punishment, but as the consequence of conduct, with ultimate absorption.

And still another Buddhist priest:

> Transmigration is the change constantly going on in human and animal beings and material substances in accordance with the law of cause and effect. Our present life is the effect of a previous existence and the cause of one to follow. The result of a life is either good or bad; and this determines whether the rebirth shall be into a higher or lower form. We do not speak of a transmigration of a soul as distinct from the body. As to when transmigration began we can only speculate; and this is not useful. The ultimate condition is the Buddhistic state—deliverance from

transmigrations. This is effected through the perception and illumination of the truth. What more it imparts it is impossible for human wisdom to understand.

Thus Buddhistic thought, represented in Japan alone by twelve general sects, is tending toward a marked modification and virtual elimination of the earlier theory.

Jainism, a small but influential sect in India, began earlier than Buddhism as a protest against Brahmanism. Although its adherents are heretics to both Brahmans and Buddhists, they have a transmigration. The moral quality of the present life is determined in a preexistent one. Absorption and annihilation are both rejected. A conscious, an eternal heaven is beyond this world, and its employment is the study of the highest philosophy.

Lamaism, the religion of Thibet and a product of Buddhism, in addition to a general transmigration, makes an odd use of the doctrine in accounting for the descent of the Grand Lama. This omniscient and infallible high priest and pope passes at death into a newborn infant, discerned by the priesthood, who becomes the successor. There is really no succession of persons, only of bodies. Through the interminable series of incarnations he retains all past knowledge and experience; hence his infallibility and omniscience.

When Chinese Buddhism entered Japan through Korea in the sixth century A. D. it adopted the chief deities of the native religion, affirming them to be transmigrations of the Buddhist ones. But in that native religion of Japan itself—the half-nature, half-ancestor worship which has come to be called Shintoism, and whose ancient traces are visible from Kamchatka to Siam—there is nothing akin to transmigration.

The ancient religion of China, some of whose features remain imprinted in primitive characters made more than two thousand years before Christ, give indications of a belief in a Supreme Being and the survival of souls after death. Confucianism, which arose six hundred years before Christ, professing to be a conservator of the Chinese primitive faith, holds to the existence of disembodied man, but gives no utterance as to his state. Taoism, contemporaneous with Confucianism, was for five hundred years a rationalistic philosophy. Not till after the dawn of Christianity did it become a religion. In the first

century A. D. Indian Buddhists entered China and impressed the country. The Taoists recognized them as rivals, and soon concluded that, to retain their hold upon the people, some popular features akin to Buddhism must be adopted. They were adopted, and among them a transmigration shaped to requirements. Those whose lives are wholly virtuous are escorted at death to an everlasting heaven. Those whose good and bad deeds balance shall be born again as men. Those who have lived tolerably virtuous lives, but have a balance of evil against them, are sent to a purgatory and thereafter put on a second probation by being born again among men. Any who fail to use well this second trial are passed through a severer purgatory and given a third probation by being born again among men. Failing in this, increasingly severe purgatories and further probations are added. In course of time probations cease, when the incorrigible soul, in its individuality, is consigned to an everlasting hell.

Demicivilizations and more primitive peoples throughout the earth exhibit forms of transmigration in their beliefs. Hints of the doctrine among the Druids are given in the folklore of the Welsh. Classical writers, including Cæsar, affirm the Druids' belief in immortality; its form "the passing of the soul at the death of one body to renewed existence in another." To the Gauls a similar doctrine is ascribed by Diodorus and Lucan, as well as by Cæsar. The personified nature worshipers of the Arabic deserts prior to the advent of Mohammedanism, according to Pocock and Sale, believed in immortality, resurrection, and transmigration.

In that remarkable faith of the plucky Druses of Syria reward and punishment are continued existence respectively in human or in animal bodies. This cult and that of the Dyaks are the only ones at all related to Mohammedanism which possess such a doctrine. Among those Germanic and Scythian hordes which swept down upon and destroyed the empire of the Romans, Tacitus informs us that there were tribes which held to the doctrine of transmigration. The idea is variously represented in Germanic mythology. Aryans as they were, their doctrine drifted with them from their eastern source.

The belief in the doctrine in some form has covered the earth. As one examines the mythologies and traditions of the

various localities of the earth and the reports and researches of ethnologists and other specialists in its four quarters, so vast becomes the accumulation of testimony that the mere record thereof would require volumes. While the purpose in the systems is variously reward, punishment, expiation, or purification, many of the systems are merely methods of immortality in this world. The merest references to a few cases must suffice. With the African Vegs the deceased is born again as a babe. Transmigration is an evolution in character—each birth lifting the person higher therein. The choice of body is often permitted the soul. The Dyaks of Borneo have a rebirth from body to body and an ascent from place to place. The spirits of the Marshall Islanders return to inhabit snakes and birds. Some Polynesian warriors go to an abode of happiness; others than warriors are devoured by the gods and then born again. Some New Guineans and New Caledonians are born as white men.

Although the belief is not contained in the vanished yet historic religions of Mexico, Central America, and Peru, it has been very prevalent with the Indian races of America. Among some tribes, the departed spirit assumes another human body just entering life. Among others, wicked souls enter different animals; the good are wafted to heaven on the smoke of the funeral pyre. With some, good souls at death enter upon a blissful indolence; bad souls enter snakes and grizzly bears. With others, "the children" were first without human bodies and human souls, then were given human souls in the bodies of birds, then human bodies and human souls. A number of tribes pass the spirits through graded worlds till perfect happiness is attained.

Those who profess to see transmigration in the Old or New Testament surely "wrest" those sacred writings. Yet among the Hebrews and early Christians there were some who held to forms of the doctrine. That the Hebrews accepted much that was not in their sacred books is abundantly testified to in their history. The Zohar and Talmud taught preexistence, transmigration, and absorption. The Pharisees have been represented as teaching transmigration, and Josephus is quoted as authority for this attribution. But the language of Josephus may be taken equally to mean the resurrection of the body—the distinguishing doctrine of the Pharisees as against the Sadducees. No such tenet is traceable among the sparse material

[illegible]

remaining of the religions of the Canaanites, Phœnicians, or other tribes contiguous to Israel after entering the promised land. But from either Egypt or Greece such a belief could easily have come. Among the later Jews there was apparently an idea that persons in the same or other bodies appeared upon earth at different periods. Hints of this are given in Matt. xiv, 2; xvi, 13–17; Mark vi, 14–18; Luke ix, 7–9, 18–21.

Jerome laments the presence of transmigration beliefs among the early Christians, and gives "Egypt and the East" as their source. Origen, while he repudiates a metempsychosis, distinctly teaches a passage of the soul after death through a succession of abodes ("steps") higher and higher till perfection is attained. The great heart of the race in all ages has spoken for immortality, and men in the darkness and in the light have sought for and invented modes thereof.

John Wier

ART. VI.—SHELLEY'S PLACE IN ENGLISH POETRY.

THE memory of Shelley the man rests under two heavy burdens, the weight of which can never be made lighter—his antagonism to morals and to religion. His biographers render no service to his genius by attempts to mitigate his offenses against social morality in his relations to the two women to whom he successively sustained the relation of husband. We may as well accept once for all, without any qualification, the distressing fact that some of the sweetest music of modern verse was poured out for us through a soiled lute. Nor need we attempt to conceal his paganism. In this matter a little reflection upon a general truth will serve us. We do not call surgeons as expert witnesses in carpentry or shipbuilding. A scientist may know nothing about the spinning of flax, and an astronomer may be grossly ignorant of the statutes of the United States. Poetic gifts have often been united with a vigorous logic and wide information. Milton knew everything known to men in his time; and Shakespeare knew the most intimate springs of human action, and reasoned with the directness and vigor of a man of affairs. Some further gift than that of song has in most cases accompanied that sublime gift; but we have a few poets who are poets only, and as a rule they rank high as singers. Byron is a conspicuous example. On what subject is an opinion of his of the smallest value? Our own Edgar A. Poe belongs to the same group of gifted singers whose thinking has not the least importance. The German Heine is another conspicuous member of a family of poets who sing as the birds sing—to allure, please, and enthrall us with pure, warbling melody.

We have also to remember that Shelley was still only a boy when the waves of the Tyrrhene Sea swallowed him up, and his intellectual life had been wholly given to tuning his harp. When any opinion revolts us in his verse we must reflect that he belongs to a company of boy poets, including Marlowe of the "mighty line," Chatterton, Keats, and perhaps we ought to add Burns and Byron, who had scarcely come to a poet's years of discretion. A certain wisdom each of them had, the sort of intuitive wisdom which goes along with poetic inven-

tion and harmonic power. When, however, we approach questions of grave importance, involving duty and faith and demanding the calm sobriety of the thinker, we shall not seek for guides in this company of young singers, though anyone of them may flash now and again some cheerful light on difficult places in our journey to the truth. And yet, in many ways, these boy poets deserve our sympathetic attention, and they keep freshly remembered the near limits of thought and the boundless reach of imagination. Above all, they poetize the clay-covered earth, the sand-bedded sea, and the cloud-bedimmed sky. There is a more perfect emancipation, in dreaming along with them, from the harshness of fact; and temporary release from this taskmastership contributes to make life less hard for such as have ears to hear the melodic solution of our earth-long mysteries.

The purpose of this paper concerns Shelley the poet; but it will aid the reader to recall that Percy Bysshe Shelley was born August 4, 1792, and was drowned near Spezzia, July 8, 1822; that he was expelled from Oxford in 1811 for writing a tract on *The Necessity of Atheism*, at the ripe age of nineteen, when a college boy knows everything; that he married Harriet Westbrook in the same year, she being a sixteen-year-old daughter of a coffee house keeper, he belonging by birth to the landed gentry; that he deserted her three years later (in 1814), formed an intimacy with Mary Godwin, and married Mary in 1816, Harriet having died that year. The remaining facts of his personal history and the groundwork and circumstantial attendants of these facts have really very little to do with his work as a poet.

He was born a poet, with an irresistible impulse to sing. A different life might have given him other themes, and longer years, with a happier morning, have made his sunset as socially splendid as that of Tennyson; but he could hardly by any change of destiny have achieved a more secure place in the world as a rarely complete master of English verse. He abounds in melodious incoherence; he "sows with the sack instead of the hand" the wealth of his imagery; he leaps from thought to thought on emotional wings, disdaining the drudgery of logic; in short, he has all the faults of an unregulated imagination and of logical incongruity, and is still incomparably melo-

dious. Some have even admired him as "a poet of nature;" and that exquisite poem on the "Cloud" seems at first reading to confirm it. But closer reading brings a better judgment. There is just enough conformity to the facts of nature to carry us along happily on the wings of perfect melody expressing the creations of the imagination. There never was any such wonder-working cloud as this of Shelley's. The stars are not "a swarm of golden bees," nor does the cloud pass through the "pores of the ocean and shores." "The beat of the unseen feet" of the moon, "which only the angels hear," is merely that of the poet's delicate fancy treading the airy measures of his verse. Some of these images are singularly apposite, the following, for example:

With wings folded I rest on mine airy nest,
As still as a brooding dove.

And yet there is no more perfect lyric in our literature. It has not the variety of Dryden's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day;" but the theme is more strictly defined and adhered to, while the absence of human figures and emotions—usually essential to lyrical success—makes the success a marvel of poetic genius. It abounds, too, with exquisite imagery, as Dryden's poem does not; and in this case we fail to find a single item of inappropriateness or incompleteness. The images stand out clear, and each one is recognized as a distinct picture. We see the flowers freshening in the rain; the buds wakening under the falling dews and rocking in the breeze; the earth dancing about the sun. The laugh of the thunder comes to our ears. We hear as well as see the pines groaning under the falling snow, the rocking of the earthquake, and the whirlwinds unfurling their banners. In the eighty-six lines of this lyric there are about as many distinct images. For this once the poet's fancy runs in rhetorical harness and runs straight. There is not an ill-chosen word or an incomplete or mixed metaphor. It is a piece of perfect lyrical expression. This cloud,

The daughter of earth and water,
The nurseling of the sky,

will never depart out of the poetical heavens as long as our English speech shall endure.

We have stepped upon debatable ground in ranking the

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"Cloud" as the chief among our lyrics. We conceive of a song as the expression of some human emotion; and there is no human element in this poem of Shelley. With it compare "The Evening Wind," which we reckon the most finished of our own Bryant's lyrics. In Bryant's song the reader at once feels an uplift and expansion of feeling when at the end we see the homesick mariner catching the land breeze and hearing in it "the rustling leaf and running stream." That vision of the closing lines colors the whole poem with human emotion; but for that some might not admit that the song has any true lyrical quality. The matter is large enough for a dissertation. Let a few words suffice for making clear our judgment that Shelley has, by making his cloud sing, transcended other lyrical achievements. The proof is that he interests us—all of us—in the song. The young and the old feel the pure beauty of the notes and the images, and feel it as song. To have proved that song can dispense itself of human sentiment and still please, move, uplift us *as song*, entitles the lyrical genius of Shelley to the laurel crown.

A singular gift is this of the singer. We do not know whether anyone has challenged the absence of this power in the greatest of poets. Shakespeare's plays are as bare of song as Milton's writings on divorce. The bits of singing in them are unworthy of the weakest lyrics of his age. There is lyrical quality in his other poems; but there is no perfect song. The lyricism breaks in now and then for a line or a stanza; but we notice this, that in Shakespeare's most perfect piece of lyricism there is no human emotion. As in the "Cloud," nature takes on human qualities in this perfectly lyrical quatrain:

> Full many a glorious morning have I seen
> Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,
> Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
> Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy.

Whoever recognizes this as lyrical poetry must admit that human feeling is not essential to a lyric. Of course the author of these four lines could have produced perfect lyrical poems if he had not attempted and achieved a far nobler thing. But the feebleness of the songs in the plays points to one of the limitations of Shakespeare's work, and by contrast helps us to fix upon the one absolute merit of Shelley.

Another sidelight on the question of merit comes from the rank given to songs which almost literally drip with emotion. Who does not prefer Burns's "Tam o' Shanter" or "Address to the Deil" to his

> My Mary, dear, departed shade!

Mrs. Browning gave us an exquisite song of patriotic feeling in "The Forced Recruit;" but it is loaded down with tears and sobs to the point of repelling the reader. Art requires a certain calm; and unrestrained emotion is fatal to lyrical success. Many German singers altogether surpass Heine in emotional power; indeed, his feeling is (apart from vindictiveness, which never makes us cry) so restrained that we begin to doubt whether he had any sweet human emotion to restrain. And yet it was Heine's songs which leaped at a bound from the poet's pen to the people's lips. It is not, then, altogether a question of poetry for poets—of art only—but also of adaptation to the poetic demands of mankind. The "Cloud" has established its right to rank as a successful lyric by commanding and holding the admiration of a great public, as well as by defying the attacks of criticism.

We have dwelt upon this poem because it seems to us to fix the place of Shelley in English poetry. Wherever else he succeeds—in every passage or poem where he is fully worthy of admiration—the element of success is lyrical power. Whenever he fails, absolutely or relatively, it is because he has attempted to do something more than sing or because his lyrical powers are impeded by rhetorical fullness.

The so-called drama of "Prometheus Unbound" is commonly considered the greatest of Shelley's poems. But it cannot be a great poem in the sense of being a great drama, for it is not a drama at all. It may be treated as a collection of songs, strung together upon a thread of revolutionary ideas and having a certain relation of consistency in the mind of the poet. There is no proper action; and a drama without action is not a true drama. One may distinguish three things in the poem—much vaporing declamation in the form of verse, a pantheistic creed under forms more or less Hellenic, and a series of beautiful lyrical poems, the best of which are the choral parts. The author has collected a stageful of personifications, and these

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alternately declaim at each other, take their turns at speechmaking, or enliven the business with charming interludes of perfect melody. The declamations fall often to the level of ranting, or would fall there but for the sustaining power of an imagination clothing itself in poetic language. In his poetry Shelley is never at a loss for a poetic title or phrase, whether the idea to be dressed for stage display be a real idea or only the ghost of one. In short, the merit of the "Prometheus Unbound" consists in qualities befitting lyrical poetry and in the songs sprinkled through it. Any attempt to take the author seriously as a dramatic poet would deprive him of all claims as a poet of any sort. There is no well-defined character, no development of character through situations, no progressive action, and no striking crisis of the action. Prometheus, who has borrowed from the Satan of Milton his weightiest opinions, is overslaughed by the less real characters of the poem; and if one can read any consistent logic into the business it is by supposing that this Satan is emancipating men from the moral government of God. It is a wild, only half lucid dream, rolling along through the clouds in the fair chariot of Shelley's verse.

The "Alastor" is a collection of dreamy vagaries of no possible interest to any human being, redeemed from nothingness only by the lyrical beauty of some of the lines. It is greatly inferior to the "Prometheus" merely because it lacks the choral magnificence of the latter poem. The "Queen Mab," Shelley's first serious boyish effort, was never recognized by himself, and reached the public without his knowledge. It is an injustice to the poet that this failure is usually placed at the head of a collection of his poetry. All that Shelley valued in it he preserved in the "Dæmon of the World," a short and quasi declamatory set of stanzas, without much coherence, but redeemed by the lyric harmonies which here and there lift the verse into worth and serious dignity. The "Revolt of Islam" gives us more fine lines, less exaggeration in description, less boyish rant, but nothing of the action we are led by the theme to expect; and the charm of it is in many fine lines exquisitely molded and glowing with imagination. Whatever he undertakes, our poet falls to singing.

In his longer poems we shall find rare gems of poetic handicraft, sentences and single phrases hammered into identic exist-

ence, living by and of themselves, such as the following choice rhetorical brilliants:

Life, like a dome of many colored glass,
Stains the white radiance of eternity.

With hue like that when some great painter dips
His pencil in the glow of earthquake and eclipse.

But then, when we attempt to think out the contents of these beautiful lines, we are soon persuaded that they imprison nothing in their fair bosoms but the spirit of the poet's lyre. Very rarely is our poet just beautifully human in the feeling he permits expression. Such gems are these:

Most wretched men
Are cradled into poetry by wrong;
They learn in suffering what they teach in song.

I could lie down, like a tired child,
And weep away the life of care,
Which I have borne, and yet must bear.

One feels even here a touch of the Byronic insincerity, and cannot help catching the note of exaggeration. We like Shelley better when he allegorizes and sobs or thunders with the emotionless elements of the natural world. His nature has been warped, and he cannot interpret the heart of man.

It is a note to be marked in Shelley's fame that he is very little quoted, and never popularly quoted. The "white radiance of eternity" and two or three other phrases may be suggested as an exception to the last remark. This rare use of his lines distinguishes for us once more the quality of his lyricism. As a whole, or in complete stanzas, the "Cloud" is recited with no little pleasure. But phrases and lines of it do not spring to the lip or pen. Each piece is a bit of colorless intellectuality of melodic art. It does not hit our human moods or embody our earthly thoughts. Strange thing that this man, thinking himself born to think out a consistent system of human society, palpitating intellectually and artistically with a purpose to set all men right, should have so rarely touched the heart of man! Few men of his age ever did more groaning in spirit for oppressed humanity or had less the art of uncovering the common wellsprings of feeling. We quote him for thought or for poetic drapery of sentiment. Shelley did not think to any

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purpose, and rarely recognized plain homespun sentiment as worthy of such clothes as he might have fashioned.

It is the form, not the thought contents, of Shelley's verse which makes his merit; that is to say, unmatched power and skill in lyrical creations constitute his claim to enduring remembrance. His entire genius, little hindered by what he called his ideas, poured itself out over his lyre. That he studied, that he knew, that he returned to from all wanderings in theories and politics. To the last he sang his own pure notes, rising clear above the confused noises of that mob of notions which had invaded the outer court of his mind, but had never captured the citadel of his imagination.

The revolutionary ideas of Shelley are in no sense original. The French Revolution had saturated the mind of Europe with them before Shelley put on trousers. The Napoleonic wars produced an effective reaction against their influence, but did not diminish their attractiveness for those who contemplate the actual world through the mystic haze of the imagination. What Shelley did was to use the revolutionary ideas in his allegorizing of the world. He knew little more of living men than he knew of Prometheus and Panthea; his human creatures are as floating and shadowy as his clouds, and resemble real humanity as little as his starry swarm of bees resemble the stellar system of the astronomer. He allegorized as a child does in giving feeling and speech to a group of dolls. The extreme youthfulness of Shelley's mind is continually shown in these delightful personifications. Sometimes a child is found conversing with dolls at the age of fourteen; Shelley kept it up fifteen years longer, only with this difference—that his dolls are brooks, leaves, forests, and planets. It is an abnormal perpetuation of the imaginative life of the mind into the years of manhood. His poetry is "of imagination all compact." No other poet is so completely under the sway of his fancy.

For such poetry the only possible dress is the lyrical robe; and whatever this poet attempted he succeeded only when he permitted himself freedom of imagination and unrestricted liberty of song. His "Cenci," for example, is in the mere formal ordering of scenes, acts, and motives, sufficiently regular; but the motives are superhuman or subterhuman, the characters are imaginary shadows, and only some rare bits of lyri-

cism make the play tolerable. But at the very close of the drama there is a real touch of human nature, so apt and pathetic that we suspect Mary Shelley to have been its author. We cannot find anything with the same brand of humanity on it in any other poem of Shelley. It is as though some mother, at the close of her child's drama of the dolls, had added these utterly human words of Beatrice to her mother:

> Here, mother, tie
> My girdle for me, and bind up this hair
> In any simple knot; ay, that does well.
> And yours, I see, is coming down. How often
> Have we done this for one another! Now
> We shall not do it any more.

This simple indication of humanity makes us realize, for the first time, that two gentle and gracious women are being led away to unmerited execution.

Turn from this drama of reputed action to "Hellas," which is formally a lyrical one. Here the poet's genius is in full play, and nine lines in ten are exquisitely lyrical. In various measures the vaguely outlined actors and the choruses pour forth abundant strains of the sweetest music. Witness these choral chants at the end of the piece:

> A brighter Hellas rears its mountains
> From waves serener far;
> A new Peneus rolls his fountains
> Against the morning star;
> Where fairer Tempes bloom, there sleep
> Young Cyclads on a sunnier deep.
>
> A loftier Argo cleaves the main,
> Fraught with a later prize;
> Another Orpheus sings again,
> And loves, and weeps, and dies;
> A new Ulysses leaves once more
> Calypso for his native shore.

And from the dialogue take these passages:

> Joy waked the voiceless people of the sea.
>
> The fleet which, like a flock of clouds
> Chased by the wind, flies the insurgent banner.
>
> The prey birds and the wolves are gorged and sleep.
>
> O word
> Of the Great Prophet, whose o'ershadowing wings
> Darkened the thrones and idols of the West.

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In the "Witch of Atlas" we find a good description of the poet's true sphere of work:

> A tale more fit for the weird winter nights,
> Than for these garish summer days, when we
> Scarcely believe much more than we can see.

The story is pure fancy, working upon myth, and allegorized nature is at the bottom of the theme. The poet here is like some English nurse telling the awed children under her charge some tale of the woods, the fairies, and the witches. It is of no importance, and has no moral or application, and, like the nurse, our poet has no task but to tell the story effectively; and this means the careful stitching together of the lyrical robe and the adorning of it with purple and golden patches of fancy. And therefore the poem abounds in modulated music such inclosing clear pictures as this:

> And every nymph of stream and spreading tree,
> And every shepherdess of ocean's flocks,
> Who drives her white waves over the green sea.

The purpose of this paper is affirmative, not negative. We do not seek to disparage a common opinion of the students of Shelley, but rather to turn their attention to his real merits. He has suffered in critical estimates from a belief that the singer is subordinate to the thinker; that his thoughts and creeds and opinions must be accounted for and justified before we can accept the gifts of his genius. The singer is just an allegorist. No matter what he sings about; the weighty matter is, How does he sing? And such a test as this places Shelley among our permanent delights.

J H Steuben

ART. VII.—THE MYSTERY OF THE TRINITY.

IN considering the doctrine of the Trinity it is well to keep constantly in mind that we have before us not a matter of human philosophy nor a product of human reason, but the most profound and mysterious subject of divine revelation. To use the words of Hilary of Poitiers,* "The Trinity is a truth which lies beyond the domain of human language, beyond the scope of sense, beyond the comprehension of reason. The archangels know it not, the angels understand it not, the ages do not comprehend it, no prophet has discovered it, no apostle explored it, the Son himself has not made it fully known." It behooves us to handle reverently such a truth, and to beware of presumption in dealing with it.

The subject of the mystery of the Trinity suggests two questions, which we may ask with all due reverence. These are: 1. In what phases of the doctrine does the mystery lie? 2. Is the mystery of the doctrine fatal to its credibility? We might also ask a third question, namely, Have we sufficient ground for holding the doctrine, notwithstanding its mystery? But as this belongs more properly to the proofs of the Trinity we will not include it in this discussion.

I. First, then, in what does the mystery of the Trinity consist? We note in passing that the mystery does not lie in a logical contradiction. The doctrine of the Trinity does not assert that three times one are one. If it did it would be an absurdity. We note also that the mystery does not consist in what Channing calls "those hairbreadth distinctions between being and person which the sagacity of later ages has discovered." The distinction between being and person is an obvious one and is not a mystery. We can all see that the term "person" has more in it than the mere notion of being. We must search elsewhere for the true statement of the mystery.

We shall find it in those elements of the doctrine which are incomprehensible to human thought, for this is the real meaning of the word. These elements we find to be two: (1) the existence of person without individuated being; (2) the distinction between personality and person, as applied to the Deity.

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* Christlieb, p. 261.

There are thus two phases, or elements, in the mystery. Let us consider them in their order.

1. The existence of person without individuated being. The Athanasian creed says: "We worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in unity, neither confounding the persons nor dividing the substance." This teaches that there is but one substance in the Godhead, and that this substance, without being divided, exists in three persons. Thus there are three persons, each of whom is distinct as a person, and yet not individuated in his substance. We have here a far deeper mystery than the so-called "hairbreadth distinctions between being and person." We have the mystery of individual persons who are not individual beings. Although there is a clear distinction in thought between being and person, yet in all human experience every individual person is also an individual being. But the doctrine of the Trinity affirms that in the Godhead this is not so. We here have the first element of the mystery, a truth which baffles all efforts of human reason.

2. But there is another mystery in the Trinity even more profound than the first. It is the distinction between personality and person as applied to the Godhead, a distinction which is necessary to safeguard the unity of God on the one hand and to avoid self-contradiction on the other. The mere existence of person without individuated substance, which we have thus far noticed, although necessary to the doctrine of the Trinity, is nevertheless not sufficient for the doctrine. Such an existence is competent to give us a trinity of persons; it is competent to give us a unity of substance; but it cannot give us a personal unity. If we ground the unity of the Godhead simply in the substance, note the results. We have a personal trinity and an impersonal unity. But an impersonal unity is not sufficient for monotheism. With an impersonal unity we have not one God. We have one divine substance, it is true, but this is impersonal, and an impersonal substance cannot be God in any true sense of theism. If, therefore, we ground the unity of the Godhead simply in the divine substance we have surrendered our faith in one personal God, and are open to the objection of Unitarianism, as stated by Channing, that "the doctrine of the Trinity, whilst acknowledging in words, subverts in effect, the unity of God."

How shall we avoid exposing ourselves to this objection? How shall we avoid subverting the unity of God? Our only safeguard is in conceiving the one divine substance as in itself personal. We then have not merely one divine substance existing in three persons, but one divine personal substance existing in three persons. This gives us a unity in personality, and thus we still hold to one personal God. But in asserting one personal substance, or one personality, existing in three persons, are we not approaching dangerously near to that logical contradiction which in the beginning we disavowed? It certainly at first thought seems like a contradiction to say that one personal substance or personality exists in three persons. If we said that one person exists in three persons it would be a contradiction incompatible with all laws of thought. But we do not say that. We say that one personal substance or personality exists in three persons. Now, if the term "personality" be absolutely equivalent to the term "person," then our statement is certainly self-contradictory. But if the term "personality" is not absolutely equivalent to the term "person," then the statement is not necessarily contradictory.

Let us, therefore, consider the distinction, if there be any, between the terms "personality" and "person." We shall consider them under the two aspects known to logic, namely, comprehension or depth, and extension or breadth. In comprehension the term "person" is deeper than the term "personality;" for along with the essential attributes of personality the term "person" also connotes the idea of individuation. Among human beings this individuation is complete. Every personality is a completely individuated person. But in the divine being this individuation is not complete. For if we think of the three persons as completely individuated we shall have three separate personalities, with the result of tritheism. We must, therefore, think of the individuation of the three persons as sufficiently restricted to conserve the oneness of the personality, and yet as sufficiently complete to secure all that is essential to the idea of person.

Now, let us examine these terms again, this time under the aspect of extension or breadth. We shall here find a marked difference between their divine and their human application. In the human application of the terms their extension or

breadth is equal. Among human beings every person includes an entirely separate personality. Every person is coextensive with a personality. But in their divine application the extension of the two terms is not equal. For here the term "personality" is the broader term, while the term "person" is more restricted. Although among human beings, then, every person is coextensive with an entire personality, in the Godhead a person does not include, or is not coextensive with, an entire personality.

We thus have the distinction between personality and person as applied to the Godhead, namely, that the term person as to comprehension is less deep, and as to extension is less broad, than in its human application; that is, that the individuation of the personality is to be held in a qualified sense, and that one person does not include an entire personality. In the unity of the Godhead there is one personality, which is not individuated person. In the trinity of the Godhead there are three individuated persons, no one of which is coextensive with the entire personality. It is by this distinction between personality and person, in their application to Deity, that we avoid self-contradiction.

This, however, brings us face to face with another danger. In asserting a distinction between personality and person, and holding that there is in the Godhead one personality and three persons, we are in danger of implying four personal agents instead of three. We are in danger of conceiving the personality as a fourth something from which the three are evolved. This would give us a quaternity instead of the Trinity. The way to avoid this is to think of God the Father as *fons totius deitatis.* The Father is the one personal substance in whom the other two are personally united, and from whom they are, as persons, individuated. His personality is so broadened as to allow the existence of the other two persons without dividing it. This is equivalent to saying that the Father, as a person, is not coextensive with his own personality.

We have here the second element of the mystery—the existence of person not coextensive with personality and without the complete individuation of personality. These two elements, namely, person without individuated substance, and person not coextensive with personality, give us the central

mystery of the Trinity—a mystery immeasurable in profundity, infinitely transcending all human thought.

II. We now proceed to our second main question, Is the mystery of the Trinity fatal to its credibility? We must here bear in mind that respecting the validity of the doctrine itself the proof devolves upon those who hold the doctrine, but respecting the credibility of the doctrine the burden of proof devolves upon those who assert that it is incredible. Bearing this in mind, let us consider the question in connection with each element of the mystery.

1. In connection with the first we ask, Is the existence of person without individuated substance incredible? Our answer will be drawn from human ignorance rather than from human knowledge. He who would assert that such an existence is incredible must be able to demonstrate that individuated substance is an essential element of personality. This is not so easy as it might seem. Of course, in all persons we have ever met we have found individuated substance as an accompaniment of personality. Reasoning by induction, we might infer that all persons are individual beings. Thus we come to associate individuated substance with personality. This is the result of an induction, perhaps an unconscious induction, in our human experience; but an induction, to give absolute certainty, must either examine all possible cases or must prove that all possible cases come under the same law. We cannot, however, examine every person that exists or ever has existed. Consequently, unless we can affirm that individuated being is a law of personality we cannot affirm that every person in the universe must have individuated being. But if it be possible that individuated substance is merely an adventitious element of human personality, arising, possibly, from our space relations, then it is conceivable that in a supersensuous existence there may be persons without such individuation. We hold that, in the limited position of our human powers, no man can demonstrate that individuated substance is a necessary law of personality, and that until this can be demonstrated he shows bold presumption who affirms that the triune God is impossible. Therefore, the first element of the mystery is not fatal to its credibility.

2. We now ask the same question respecting the second element of the mystery. Is the existence of a person who is not

coextensive with a personality incredible? As this mystery is more profound than the other, so its credibility appears more difficult. As before, we draw our answer from the limitations of our knowledge. We frankly admit that if anyone can prove such an existence to be impossible then the doctrine of the Trinity will appear as an absurdity. But can such a thing be proved? Certainly such a mode of existence is not to be found within the range of human experience. For with us every personality is one person, and every person is coextensive with a personality. But is this absolutely essential to the concept of a person? We do not think this question can be determined by human reason. We take the risk of challenging anyone to prove the affirmative of the question. To assert that the coextension of person with personality is an essential element in the concept of person requires such a superhuman insight into the nature of person as the profoundest master of philosophy might well hesitate to assume. But if, perchance, this coextension of person with personality which we find among us be not essential to the concept of a person, but simply an adventitious circumstance in connection with human persons, then may it not be possible that in a superhuman existence there are persons not under this limitation? We do not attempt to prove this possibility, but we challenge anyone to prove the impossibility. And until the impossibility of such existence can be proved no man is warranted in regarding the Trinity as an incredible mystery.

If the power of human thought were the test of credibility how many experiences of everyday life would be ranked among fabulous absurdities! How is it possible for mind to act on matter? The connection is unthinkable and, if it were not a matter of daily experience, we might be tempted to say, impossible. If we had always existed in pure spirituality, having no experience of matter, not knowing that there was such a thing, and should then be made acquainted with it and told that we could move it whithersoever we wished, would we not at first believe such power to be incerdible? And yet we exercise such power every day that we live. The fact is true, notwithstanding the mystery.

So it is with the mystery of the Trinity. It is true that human thought cannot attain to it. Human thought utterly fails

in attemping to grasp it. But if we know not our own selves, if our power to move our own bodies is an unfathomable mystery, how can we expect to comprehend the height and the depth of the mystery of God? Human imagination can only recombine elements that have been found in human experience. When considering a mode of existence which so transcends all human experience should we not expect human imagination to be unable to picture it? Our thoughts while in this tenement of clay are clogged by spatial conceptions and fettered by spatial relations. How natural, then, that they should be unable to grasp a mode of existence which in its very nature is removed from space relations and incompatible with them! We conclude that our inability to comprehend a thing is no proof that it is incredible.

We add but one thought more. If the doctrine of the Trinity be not incredible, then its very mystery is a presumption of its truth. If the mind of man could grasp the teaching in all its fullness we might well question whether it came from any higher source than man. But if the teaching be one which only the mind of God could originate and comprehend, then, perchance, it must have come from God.

Seeing now that the mystery is not an incredible mystery, our faith still clings to the triune God. We hold to the triune God, because he has revealed himself as such in his word. We hold to the triune God, because in this name our fathers through the ages have battled with sin and darkness. And lastly, we hold to our faith in the triune God, because, through the atonement in the only-begotten Son and through the witness of the eternal Spirit, we know that "we are children of God."

Edwin Sherwood.

Art. VIII.—GENERAL CONFERENCE POWERS AND PROCEDURE.

The constitutional powers of the General Conference, though given in brief terms, are broad and comprehensive. The general grant is of "full authority to make rules and regulations for our Church," subject to limitations needless here to specify. Its assent, by a two-third vote, is also requisite to any amendment of the organic law. For present purposes it suffices to say that, barring certain powers belonging *ex officio* to the bishops, the entire authority of government is conferred upon this body, with the right also of participation in action to amend the Constitution. We therefore are to regard it as possessing, besides the function last named, general legislative, executive, and judicial powers. As these differ in essential features, wise policy clearly demands that they should be separately exercised. Moreover, in respect to each class of powers, legitimately to call them into action, a matter in nature appropriate thereto must be before the body. Apparently, however, in the practice of the General Conference what should follow from the propositions stated has been lost sight of at times or but dimly seen. Beyond all this, also, extra-constitutional function has been exerted, from which, perhaps, some confusion has arisen, though when its character is understood and a true order of business adopted the action is wholly unobjectionable. Our object now is to note the great divisions of power with which the General Conference is invested; to show the necessity of a matter in nature accordant therewith, in order to the exercise of each; the character of the extra-legal action referred to; and then to point out the procedure that logically follows as the method by which the business of the body should be conducted.

All understand the general differences between legislative, executive, and judicial powers. But when, as here, they are conferred upon a single body their distinctions are not so easily observed. Add to this a practice which almost entirely fails to class them and that these several functions are exercised by a large assembly, most of whom are untrained in such affairs, and the marvel is not that misconception and confusion have at times crept in, but that so little has followed. This

last, no doubt, is attributable in large part to the line of very able presidents which the General Conference has been blessed with from the beginning.

No particular analysis of the different powers which government, ecclesiastical no less than civil, implies is deemed necessary, save as an incident to showing that from the nature of things none of them can be exerted legitimately unless upon an appropriate subject-matter. We begin with the legislative function. This, in its substance, is the power to enact law, to make or change rules of action or conduct for those within their authority. Obviously, unless some new law or rule is to be made or an old one repealed, this power cannot be exercised. There is nothing upon which it can operate. For example, a resolution that it would be wise to make a certain regulation, or that the Conference has authority to enact it, is no exercise of legislative function, but a mere expression of opinion and, except as such, void of any effect whatever. A matter, then, respecting which the power is exerted, in a form to make new or repeal old laws, is necessary to its lawful exercise. Precisely the same principle applies to the executive authority of the General Conference. This is largely invoked in the appointment and supervision of bishops and the various agents for the performance of executive duties, such as our economy requires. Manifestly a resolve that those officers are needed for the different departments of Church work would be no exertion of executive power. But when the Conference appoints them, then it is called into operation—an executive act is done. So, also, as respects the question of amending the Constitution. A declaration that it would be improved by a certain change could have no legal effect. The action must be directly upon a proposition to amend—a matter within this field of power—in order to its exercise. All this is so obvious that its statement might be regarded as superfluous. But, as it shows a principle in applications beyond doubt, it may aid in making clear how it applies in cases not quite so plain.

On the point in question more misapprehension appears as to the exercise of judicial power by the General Conference than is found in respect to its other functions. The necessity for a matter before the body of a nature which calls for judicial action, as a condition therefor, is not always clearly per-

ceived. A simple example, however, will illustrate legitimate activity of function under each class of usual powers. Suppose a new office is to be created and filled. Legislation becomes necessary to provide for it and to prescribe its duties. By an executive act the officer is appointed. Thereafter he is charged with a breach of duty such as to subject him to discipline, which he denies. Now, the hearing and decision by the Conference of the case thus made would be a judicial act, calling into activity its judicial powers. But a resolution, passed prior to the dereliction, declaring what the decision ought to be if such a case arose, manifestly would not. One reason of this is that judicial action is from its nature impossible, except upon a state of facts already in existence.

> That which distinguishes a judicial from a legislative act is, that one is a *determination of what the existing law is in relation to some existing thing already done or happened,* while the other is the predetermination of what the law shall be for the regulation of all future cases falling under its provisions.*

There is another question closely connected with this, which, in order to a full understanding of the judicial function, it is important to consider. The judicial capacity is the only one in which cases involving a right under the law can be decided and the law authoritatively interpreted. This principle is elementary and fundamental in the American constitutional system. Regarding the Constitution of the United States a most able and learned writer says:

> The judicial interpretation . . . is . . . the ultimate interpretation; but it must be given *through the form of a case, and can be given only upon such questions as form a proper subject for a case.* †

This doctrine and a correct practice under it are of paramount importance if we wish to have a system of ecclesiastical law in which each great function of government will find its proper place and limitations. The fact that all these powers are vested in the General Conference possibly has led to misunderstanding here. A few seem to suppose that if a case arises and is decided, still, by some assumed exercise of fancied legislative power, it may be declared overruled, and so set aside. Yet from the nature of the thing this is impossible. The Conference can

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* Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, *91.

† Burgess's *Political Science and Constitutional Law*, vol. ii, p. 327.

never legislate what a decision shall be, for the reason that if no case has arisen the act is void for want of anything upon which to operate, while if one be before the body, and it is decided, whatever the form of the action, it is judicial in nature, and not legislative. If a case were to arise under a statute, which a decision construed and applied, its effect might be destroyed, as to future cases, by repealing or changing the statute. But where a provision of the Constitution is involved the decision must remain as the law until reversed in another case or the instrument is changed by amendment. No resolution that the Constitution shall be differently interpreted and read could have the slightest legal effect, as the legislative power does not extend into the judicial, and such an act is not, nor can it be, legislation. Chief Justice Marshall long ago said: "The difference between the departments undoubtedly is, that *the legislature makes, . . . and the judiciary construes, the law.*"[*] The two functions are in nature separate and distinct, and cannot, without the overthrow of all system, be confused in practice. If this were done, indeed, no one ever could know what the law was in its application to cases. A decision, solemnly made, might be set aside by an *ad captandum* resolution declaring that those voting for it are of a different opinion. Such a procedure would breed confusion, render settled rules of judicial decision impossible, and bring the administration of our law into merited contempt. The judicial power, it may be added, extends to all cases of alleged infraction of our laws and Constitution which may come before the General Conference. It also covers questions relating to the qualifications of its members. Their decision is a judicial act. When hearing and deciding such questions the Conference *ipso facto* becomes a "court."[†] This is true also in all cases in which it acts judicially. The circumstance that the body is large in number, and its modes of procedure different from those usual in courts, does not alter this result.

Before amendment of the organic law can be made the General Conference by proper action must concur therein. Hence it is invested with a portion of what may be designated as

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[*] Wayman *vs.* Southard, 10 Wheaton, 46.

[†] 1 Kent's *Commentary*, *235; People *vs.* Hall, 80 New York, 123; Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, *133.

constitution-making power. The simple fact is all that attention need now be called to, as it alone shows one of the distinct functions of the body.

A short statement is required regarding the extra-constitutional powers assumed by the General Conference. In strict legal view these really are proceedings of the persons composing the body, in unofficial capacity, but clothed in official forms. Expressions of opinion by resolution, report, adopted, or otherwise, on public questions touching morals and religion, such as the liquor traffic, Chinese exclusion, Sunday newspapers, and the like, are wholly outside of the authority conferred upon the Conference. But if that be understood, in view of its representative character and the weight naturally attaching to its utterances, such action is not only free from objection, but eminently right and proper. It makes, however, no "rule" or "regulation"—is extra, though not, within certain limits, unconstitutional. Attention is directed to it that the nature of such action may be clearly seen and its place indicated in a correct procedure.

The foregoing review of the powers and practice of the General Conference makes manifest that, within constitutional limits, it may act in four separate and distinct capacities—legislative, executive, judicial, and constitution-making. To this is to be added the extra-legal, which may be termed the expressed opinion of its members on important affairs, beyond the powers of the body, but in form as its action. We thus get the grounds for a logical order of business, that is, one by which, in the proceedings of the Conference, these functions shall be separated in their exercise. The way to this is simple and perfectly practicable. When legislation is the work to be done, let it be in what shall be known as a legislative session; executive business, in executive session; judicial action, in court session; consideration of constitutional amendments, in amendment session; and extra-legal acts, in extra session. By this or some similar method the business of the body would be classified, its nature disclosed, and confusion avoided. The "mixed" states of mind at times apparent in the Conference as to its powers, and especially the disposition occasionally manifest to run them into one another, as a sort of hotchpotch, one might hope would disappear. A session of one kind should of course exclude

what belongs to another, and so for the time confine attention to a single field.

To us the advantages of such a procedure seem very great. As an aid to the growing sense of the fact that we have a constitutional system, which includes the great departments of governmental power, distinguished by inherent differences of nature, its adoption in substance appears to be important. The form as well as grounds of a new procedure, therefore, have been stated in order to bring them to the attention of those in position to secure any desirable change.

In conclusion, a few words must be said upon another but related topic. To our mind it is clear that each session of the General Conference should enact that its rules of order shall govern in the following session, until that session changes them. These also ought to be published in new editions of the Discipline, for the benefit of the Church at large. Then the people could know something both of the powers and practice of our "Governing Conference."

Hiram L. Sibley

Art. IX.—THE PROPHETIC WRITINGS.

The Old Testament Scriptures are divided into three groups, the law, the prophets, and the hagiographa. The law embraces the first five books, which are familiarly called the Pentateuch. They are also frequently spoken of as the books of Moses and the books of the law. They form a whole and include the purely legislative portion of the Old Testament. To the sacred Scriptures in their entirety the law is the beginning, the primary source of authority and control in matters relating to the theocratic life of Israel, and contains the fundamental statement of the nature and will of Jehovah.

The hagiographa is very miscellaneous in its character. It is not limited to any definition which would exclude any writings from it. This is indicated by the title itself, which signifies literally "sacred writings." Jesus, the son of Sirach (in Ecclesiasticus), and Philo speak of these writings as the "other books." The title was simply a general term which might easily be made to include whatever it was thought best for any reason to assign to it. Accordingly every species of literary composition may be found in this collection, including law, prophecy, wisdom, praise, and history.

The division of the prophets is also very broad in its scope. Here are found portions of the sacred writings which in their subject-matter, style, and purpose certainly differ very considerably from one another. According to the rabbis, and with some justification in the writings themselves, there are two subdivisions, the former and the latter prophets. There is little difficulty in accounting for such chronological classification on the supposition that the historical books included in the former prophets, namely, Joshua, Judges, the Books of Samuel, and the Kings, are properly prophecy. This may be allowed, either because the prophets were prominent actors of the times and wrote the histories, or because prophecy was understood to involve instruction as one of its functions equally with prediction. The latter prophets are again divided into the major and minor prophets. To the first belong Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. The minor prophets include the last twelve books of the Old Testament.

This threefold arrangement of the sacred writings is very ancient. There was sufficient ground for it in the nature of the subjects treated in the different books. The law and the prophets, in particular, gradually rose into distinctive prominence because of the differences in their character, in their sources, and in their relations to the life and development of Israel. They had each their special function and sphere, which, during the entire period of their activity, could hardly have failed to secure for them separate recognition. The geographer naturally speaks of mountain systems and river systems, because they denote two distinct classes of objects. No less naturally must the peculiarities of the law and the prophets have made it necessary, in the crudest and most general arrangement of their contents, to distinguish between them and assign to each division the writings that belonged to it. This is clearly seen in the case of the law. From the beginning of the history of the Hebrew people as a nation it stood out prominently before their thought and exercised a controlling influence upon their practices. The "law," the "book of the law," the "book of the covenant" are expressions continuously recurring throughout the historical books and the Psalms which illustrate to what prominence and importance the law early attained. Whatever may be the results of the higher criticism, after it has swung freely between extreme conservatism and extreme radicalism, and found a resting place at last, in defining the original contents of the Pentateuch and the dates of its redactions and final shaping, it is quite clear that from the time of Moses and onward the law had a very large and definite meaning in the Hebrew mind. Its complete and permanent form, it may be conceded, if minor details alone are considered, was not given it until the final revision by Ezra, B. C. 444.

The prophets, however—and by the term is now intended the writings of the prophets—were much later than the law in securing recognition as a distinct class of writing. The former prophets were certainly for a long period included in a general way in the law. None of the major or minor prophets had an existence until long after the national life had progressed well along toward its close; and even after the final completion of the law Malachi yet remained to utter his prophecy. It

could hardly be expected, therefore, that the prophets should have had distinct mention in the Old Testament as a collection of important documents or books or as a class of writings treasured by the nation. The prophets, upon whom it is necessary to rely for the most part for a history of their times, were themselves the authors of the prophetic books; and it was not their business, nor did it come in their way, to classify their own words. That was left to a later age, when these utterances should be studied as so much valuable truth and it should become necessary for practical purposes to give them a separate designation in the literature of the nation. Nevertheless, it is clear from incidental references, and especially from the language of Zechariah, that as early as the times of Ezra a differentiation of the prophetic writings which then existed had been gradually developing. During the centuries that elapsed between the last of the Old Testament prophets and the older books of the New Testament both the hagiographa and the prophets grew more and more into that definiteness to which the law had already attained. In the prologue to Ecclesiasticus the author speaks three different times of the law, the prophets, and other writings, calling these last the "other books of our fathers" and the "rest of the books." In the second book of the Maccabees, about the middle of the second century B. C., Nehemiah is said to have gathered together the acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts. These words are ambiguous, though there are some things about them that are very plain. There was no need of referring to the law, and, therefore, it was not mentioned. The prophets received attention as a division of the sacred writings then quite well known and understood. There were also miscellaneous books which were regarded as a part of the inspired teachings of the fathers. Philo, who flourished about the time of Christ, speaks of this miscellaneous portion of the Old Testament as "praises to God and other writings." Josephus, near the close of the first century A. D., does little more than confirm the fact of this threefold arrangement. The hagiographa was a gradual collection of many miscellaneous writings which, for good reasons, while they could not be classified with the law and the prophets, were thought

worthy of preservation as a part of the theocratic literature of Israel.

In the New Testament, as we might expect, there is no lack of the most definite references to the law and the prophets. One great fact ever present to the mind of Christ was the law, whose ancient utterances furnished him with an important basis of authority and truth. In like manner, not only in imitation of their divine Lord, but especially because the presuppositions of the Gospel which they preached were found in the law, the apostles quoted it and make its authority paramount in their teachings. It is frequently spoken of as the law of Moses, thus being identified with a body of laws known already by this general title. The prophets, however, occupy no second place, in comparison with the law, in the New Testament writings. For the first time they stand on an equality, to say the least, with the revered laws of Moses. Hitherto, they had been relegated to a subordinate rank. The apocryphal books of the Old Testament, while they evinced the greatest respect for the Hebrew Scriptures as a whole, invariably assigned the chief place to the law. Likewise the rabbis distinguished between the law and the prophets, to the disadvantage of the latter, teaching that the law was essentially superior and entitled to the greater consideration and reverence. So strong was this conviction that it was strictly forbidden in the Talmud to put the prophets in the same case with the law or to place the roll of the prophets on the roll of the law. Philo and Josephus, reflecting the opinions of their age and of the Jewish Church, express the same decided preference for the law on account of the superior inspiration which Moses possessed. While the phrases, "The law and the prophets," and "Moses and the prophets," are frequently on the lips of Christ, there is nothing in the fact to commit him to the prevailing prejudices in favor of the law. His manner of employing these phrases, indeed, as well as the context, plainly shows that, to his mind, the prophets were not inferior in their authority and teachings to the best utterances of the law. "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them," he solemnly declared, thus showing that Moses and the prophets are equally concerned in instructing the soul in the truths necessary to salvation.

It is in the New Testament, therefore, that the true position

and importance of the prophets in the progressive life and final destiny of Israel appear. The devout Jew, studying the prophetic writings, while the words of Malachi were yet fresh and new, but before the wonderful person and teachings of Christ had given to prophecy its rightful significance, might have been excused if, with a picture of something grand and glorious outlined to his thought, he nevertheless saw nothing to long divert his gaze from the majestic image of the law, before which, in perfect sympathy with his age, he had reverently bowed. Simeon and Anna, true types of the faithful in Israel, themselves looking for the glory of God which they had discovered reflected in the writings of the prophets, did well to abide in the temple in reverent and devout fulfillment of the requirements of the law, until their eyes were blessed with the first tangible evidence of the meaning of the prophetic word in the infant Christ. With the ministry of Christ and his disclosure of the true principles of the kingdom of God, which the prophets had faintly anticipated, with the baptism of Pentecost and the widening prospect of a glorious fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies, the New Testament necessarily exalted the prophets to a place, if anything, above the law.

It has, therefore, been inevitable that, in the development of the Christian Church, the prophets should assume an ever-increasing importance and interest as a distinct class of Old Testament writings. Their character, the peculiar position which they held in the economy of the ancient Church, but much more their relation to the New Testament Church, its Founder, its spirit, and its truths, have differentiated them from all other writings and given them a place of honor and influence by themselves. Their promises of salvation for Israel and of the establishment of God's kingdom through the work of the Messiah, which formed so large a part of the prophetic writings, early gave the prophets authority in the interpretation of gospel teachings. Their value in this particular has only increased as the more thorough biblical study and the more critical investigation of succeeding generations have revealed more and more clearly their vital relation to the work and ministry of Christ. Of late a deep and growing interest in the history of Old Testament times—partly the result of new and more critical methods of historical study, which have given a flattering promise of a

better understanding of the early ages and ancient nations, and partly because of questions that have arisen bearing upon the composition and essential meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures, the ideas current in Israel regarding the kingdom of God, and the worth of biblical records in the light of archæological discoveries—has brought the prophets into greater prominence than ever before. They are appealed to by all parties, by foes as well as friends of a supernatural religion, and by friends who differ very widely in the opinions which they hold. Their relation to the law forms a most important and crucial subject of inquiry. Supplementing as they do the very insufficient records of the historical books and presenting all necessary and reasonable evidence of their integrity and authenticity, they furnish an indispensable aid to a thorough understanding of the Old Testament history and religion.

The prophetic writings might seem to be quite meager as a source of information concerning the great questions which have been raised by modern critical scholarship; and certainly no one would claim that the writings which have been transmitted to the Christian Church are voluminous. This fact, however, does not negative their value. Bulk is by no means a test of the merits of any writings or collection of writings. Large dimensions and little value may be asserted of the same volume, while a very small space has often contained the richest treasures of fact and truth. Neither pages, nor chapters, nor volumes necessarily form a proper and adequate basis on which to make an estimate of the value of any literary production. Other and quite different elements enter into the problem. The subject, the treatment of the subject, the accuracy and reliability of the statements, the spirit and character of the author, his position and opportunities of observation and judgment are some, at least, of the important points by which the value of a book or books is to be determined. Judged of in the light of such considerations, the prophets are entitled to an important and prominent position in the study of Old Testament times. They may be relied upon with the most implicit confidence to give a true and faithful picture of the internal life of the Hebrew people, to point out the marked tendencies of each age, and the nature of the influences which were in operation to check hurtful tendencies and create new objects of desire

and ambition. Especially do they describe the religious condition and disposition of both divisions of the Hebrew nationality. Indeed, the Christian Church is largely indebted to them for a correct idea of the teachings and doctrines which were current in the northern and southern kingdoms, and were understood to represent the mind and will of Jehovah. So distinct and pronounced are all the sentiments and requirements of the prophets, so perfectly do they agree from the first to the last word of their utterance, so separated from and so antagonistic to the spirit and forms of idolatry do they always appear to be, that they reflect, in a comprehensive as well as minute way, the conflict and struggle of those moral forces which underlay and characterized the national existence. One has only to reflect on the simple outline of events, mainly wars and revolutions, recorded in the historical books, to realize how scanty the material would be on which to judge of the life of Israel but for the prophets. An examination will show, too, that they have furnished those more hidden conditions of individual and social life which in all history are the real explanation of its more prominent events.

A glance at the authors of the prophetic books will only serve to confirm these views of the relation of the prophets to the essential life of Israel. The prophets were indeed in a position to represent the ages in which they lived. They were of the people, lived among the people, and ministered to the people. They were citizens of their respective governments, and were keenly alive to everything that in any way had to do with the interests of the nation. Their office made them the natural guardians of all the institutions, doctrines, and divine privileges which belonged to the chosen people of God. It was an important part of their appointed work, therefore, to be ever jealous of the rights of Jehovah among his people and of the fidelity of the people to Jehovah. The public character of their labors, and the boldness with which they attacked evil of every form and dared the hostility of all classes in the performance of duty, render their writings of the greatest value as mirrors of the times. The prophets might have been contradicted and their declarations disproved, so open and public were they, if they had been false; but the fact is that the moral consciousness of the nation fully sustained them. Their personal

character, their intellectual strength and grasp, the sturdy and rugged principles for which they stood and which they exhibited in their lives, reminding us of the best modern reformers and surpassing them, give to the prophets a measure of reliability to which few who represent even a great national life are entitled. A careful study of the nature of the prophetic office as understood in the Hebrew Scriptures will throw light upon the essential relation of the prophets to the current life about them. The word most frequently used, and always translated by the word "prophet," is *navi.*[*] It is a verbal noun derived from the verb *nava,*[†] meaning "to boil or bubble up and pour forth;" that is, it represents the idea of pent-up energy, striving to break forth in some external expression. The *navi* is one who has been wrought upon by influences which have created this inward, restless, uncontrollable energy. There is a spirit within him which struggles to speak, a spiritual power, bestowed by God, which impels him to go forth and speak the truth which is in his mind and heart. Two other words are applied to the prophetic office, though not so frequently as *navi.* They are the two participles *roeh*[‡] and *chozeh*[§], which correspond to the participles of our two words "see" and "perceive." The prophet is, therefore, a seer, who beholds at a distance and understands what he sees.

There are, then, evidently two functions here indicated as belonging to the prophetic order. The one is prediction. The prophet sees future events, feels their meaning, and with inspired energy proclaims them. But while this is clearly one function it is not the only one, and perhaps not the most important one. The other, which was by far more essential to the development of the theocratic idea, had to do with current events. The *navi,* filled with the energy of the divine Spirit and excited by clear views of the divine truth, was impelled by inward power to speak to king or priest or people the word of the living God. He could not help doing this. He might, like Jonah, flee, but he would, like Jonah, be brought back again to declare the counsel of Jehovah. It was this which made the prophet the mouthpiece of Jehovah. It was this also which rendered him the guide and instructor of his age. This living, divine energy within the soul, this clear sense of the presence of Jehovah,

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[*] נָבִיא. [†] נָבָא. [‡] רָאָה. [§] חֹזֶה.

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committing to them his truth, made the prophets heroes to whom neither king nor priest nor false prophet nor people could oppose any serious obstacle. It is useless to ask if the prophets were inspired. The very terms of their office imply it. Their own profession never hesitates at this point. Their spirit, their elevated sentiments, the truths they proclaimed, all furnish us with the most indubitable evidence of their inspiration. It does not matter in what way they were inspired, through what psychological processes they might have passed. It is enough that their words are tremulous with a strange passion and power which are not of earth, which can only come from the divine mind. Perhaps it is natural that we should give a great deal of attention to the mechanics of inspiration; but we often do the divine word a great injustice. We rudely invert the order in which inspiration as a doctrine is related to inspiration as a fact. In other words, instead of comprehending the doctrine by a living sense of the spirit which pervades the sacred pages and transfuses them with a heavenly light, we seek through our doctrine, verbal, plenary, or what not, to catch and appreciate the great truth of inspiration. This is wrong. We recognize man by no preconceived theory of what life is, but by the animation of countenance, the vigor of body, the strength and brightness of intellect, the soul that looks through eyes, that speaks through words, that touches us by a spirit akin to our own. It is no theory of life that stands before us; it is life itself. Such is the life of the prophets, ever breaking forth in their wonderful outbursts of passionate energy and holy zeal. No nation has ever been so fortunate as the Jews in its teachers and the guardians of its most sacred interests.

The writings of the prophets extend over a long and important period of the history of the Hebrew people. Without naming precise dates, it is safe to fix the beginning of the period at about the middle of the ninth century B. C. The period closed about 400 B. C. Nearly five hundred years were therefore embraced in the writings of the prophets. With the exception of three comparatively brief intervals, in one or the other kingdom, the record of prophetic utterances was complete and continuous. These centuries were crowded with important events. Both kingdoms, through a long succession of wars and civil and religious revolutions, advanced to the final and

terrible ordeal of siege and captivity. During this time one or the other kingdom was brought into almost constant relation with those overshadowing military powers, Syria, Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, and Persia, which in great inundations of conquest afflicted in turn various portions of the ancient world and laid waste the pleasant places of Palestine. Much of all that transpired under these conditions is known to the modern world only through these prophets. They furnish the key to many otherwise inexplicable situations, and refer to events of which and persons of whom some knowledge is indispensable to a satisfactory understanding of history.

It is an occasion for astonishment that so large and valuable a body of writings of such a remarkable character should have been transmitted from those ancient times. It is perhaps of little significance that no other ancient nation can present anything at all comparable with these sacred records, for no nation possessed such a remarkable body of men or such high conceptions of moral and religious truth. This is, however, an important fact to remember in connection with the prophetic writings; and if for no other reason, at least to exhibit the superiority of the Hebrew people in this respect to every other people. It is of real significance to remember, also, that the period to which the prophets belonged was not a period of any general literary activity. As an art writing was not cultivated to any great extent. Perhaps as little had reading become an attainment beyond the comparatively limited circle of those whose business it was to chronicle the affairs of kings and of the nation and to record the laws and precepts of religion. As was the case among the masses of other ancient nations, so it must have been among the Hebrews. There is at least no good reason to think that it was otherwise. There were in all probability comparatively few who could either read or write. There was no encouragement for the prophets to write their messages in any great demand for the written prophecies that existed among the people at large. The peculiar character of the prophecies also rendered them less likely to be recorded than the ordinary facts and events of history, for whose preservation scribes were appointed. They might naturally enough have seemed to be temporary in their value, as they had mainly to do with current interests. Undoubtedly, also, much that was

spoken was never written. Probably much that was written was not preserved or incorporated into the prophetic writings. Under such circumstances it is a remarkable fact that so large a collection of writings was preserved. A great debt of gratitude is due to those noble and brave men who determined so largely the moral and religious life of Israel.

It is only just, in view of all these facts, to accord great praise to the prophetic writings which have been treasured up by the Church of God from age to age. They form together a body of sacred literature which reflects no mean credit upon the character, industry, and influence of the "writing prophets." They are ample enough not only to furnish the student of the Bible with a guide through the mazes of the history of the secular and religious life of Israel, but also to show him by what doctrines and sanctions the kingdom of God was developed through ages of wars and civil strifes and shameless defections from the truth and commands of Jehovah. They emphasize with a peculiar force the very points in which Israel was preeminently superior to all other nations. Such utterances, not only tolerated by the Hebrews, but treasured up by them as an essential part of their history, show plainly the trend and spirit of the national life. No people have furnished such rich materials for a correct and complete estimate of their character, and the great purposes which they serve in history, as the Hebrews have done in the simple but abundant prophetic literature which they have transmitted to the Christian Church.

It has been in this field that higher criticism has done some of its best and hardest work, in finding confirmations of the positions which have been taken regarding the history of Israel or in removing obstacles which have stood in the way of some preconceived theories of national evolution. It cannot be difficult, certainly, to see how the prophets, with their jealous regard for the past, as well as deep interest in the present, should contribute very much to the solution of important problems which have grown out of the antiquity and obscurity of the earlier periods of the national history. It was inevitable that they should represent the result to which the most ancient principles and teachings had naturally led, and embody, although in a greatly developed and spiritual way, the early religious customs and forms under which the nation had had its beginning.

Already much intelligent and careful study has been given to the prophets. Every word has been critically examined, the contents of every phrase and sentence have been sifted, obscure references have been thoroughly worked out in the light of modern historical and archæological discoveries, and the relation of the prophets to the current events and life about them more fully determined. In particular, the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, containing a most interesting and valuable history of Assyria and Babylon during the entire period of the written prophecies, but deciphered only through the patient efforts of modern scholarship, have been employed with great skill and acuteness to illustrate and explain important points in the prophecies. It is impossible to estimate the amount of painstaking labor which in one way or another has been bestowed upon them even in the last decade. It is true that there has been an amazing activity in every department of biblical investigation for the last fifteen or twenty years; but in none of them has more satisfactory work been done, and in none of them has it been done in a more earnest and appreciative spirit, than in the writings of the prophets. If some views which have been held for centuries have been contradicted or greatly modified, much has been gained in breadth of view and in a knowledge of what the prophets really were and what they were commissioned to accomplish. There can hardly be anything of greater importance to a Christian minister than the study of the prophets and their work in the Old Testament Church. Nowhere will he imbibe more fully the heroic, fearless, and devoted spirit of self-sacrificing loyalty to the commandments and purposes of God than in those inspired and inspiriting writings; nowhere will he be better prepared to appreciate the spirituality and holiness manifested in the person and teachings of the Redeemer; nowhere will he be nerved more thoroughly to the performance of his entire duty in the fear of God. The prophets may thus become living words, even in this late age of the Christian dispensation.

C. W. Gallagher,

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

The first paper in this number is permitted, as is obviously proper because of its exceptional relation to the *Review*, to exceed the fixed limit of space allowed to our contributed articles. Only great self-restraint has enabled us to reduce it within the pages which now contain it, there being in the long, rich history of the *Review* abundant and interesting material for an article thrice as long.

Dr. James Strong's *Exhaustive Concordance*, the masterly work of a great biblical scholar, moves on from one edition to another of the enormous sale it is surely destined to have. It is the most extraordinary, magnificent, and monumental product of an immensely industrious life. For the next half century it will probably be the one unequaled and indispensable concordance of the Holy Scriptures. It is offered by the publishers at the lowest possible price. All ministers and other Bible students should buy it at once or begin to save money enough for its purchase.

DR. J. O. PECK.

Born among the mountains of Vermont, born again amid thunder and lightning on the slope of one of them, nursed and toughened into hardiness on the scanty and gritty soil which the rocky hills reluctantly concede, under the attrition of ages, to form the fields that spread about their feet, Dr. Peck was somewhat like the mountains in structure and quality, in stature and stability.

Bishop Scott said that when he walked with Dr. Olin and tried to make his own short legs keep up with the long, easy strides he felt as if he were walking beside an elehpant. Stephen Olin and J. O. Peck were nearly of a size, the latter standing six feet two inches. We imagine there was more manifest and active physical force in Peck than in Olin. On a large frame an extraordinary muscular development built up and compacted a sturdy and formidable physique, which had great capacity and irrepressible propensity for action. His arms found it easy to tame the wildest colt or swing the heaviest sledge-hammer.

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Most men who met him felt their right hand lost and helpless in his big and hearty grasp. During almost forty years this prodigious human power was consecrated to divine service. He put broad and loyal shoulders under every load God and the Church laid upon him, stood up straight under it, and carried it as if he loved the weight he had to bear. The aggregate of effort and of result was enormous.

When the excitement of the civil war broke in upon his young manhood militant tendencies and patriotic zeal would have made him a soldier, but for the fact that when he twice attempted to enlist he was rejected because of a defect in the vision of his right eye. His patriotism found partial expression, however, in being used by Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, for delivering addresses in various parts of the State at meetings for the promotion of enlistments.

In energy, in methods, and in results Dr. Peck's ministry is universally conceded to be exceptional—indeed, phenomenal. To this every place in which he was ever pastor bears witness. When he set foot in a community the ground of the region felt a ponderous and active tread. The quiet of sleepy neighborhoods was disturbed. From his personality as a center out to a wide circumference things began to stir immediately on his arrival, and kept on whirling as long as he stayed there. Frequently it was tempestuous round about him. He was a son of thunder, sending his message forth with a stentorian voice. His pulpit was a battery without any wooden guns. His ministry was aggressive for the salvation of men, denunciatory and belligerent toward depravity and ungodliness. The stroke of his eager challenge rang on the brazen shield of the world which lieth in wickedness. He smote with a lunging force, like the fighting gladiator. His utterances were like the blows of a hammer on an anvil, and from a heart which burned like a furnace his fiery words flew as sparks from a forge. Doubtless he will remain in the memory of our Church as the great pastor-evangelist of his day and generation. While pastor at Hanson Place, Brooklyn, he received about nine hundred into the church, most of them the fruit of three sweeping revivals in three successive years. A revival he would always have, nor men nor devils could prevent it. When he set out for this the manner and method of his ministry were resolute, audacious, pertinacious, and imperative. His protracted meetings ran ten, twelve, fourteen weeks. He would go all day scouring the parish and beyond, sometimes using

up relays of horses to hunt down the impenitent. He was an officer with a search warrant from the supreme Authority, and there was not much use in hiding, for no retreat was secure from his invasion. He caught men, women, and young people wherever he could find them, in their homes, their business places, their social assemblies, or on the streets. None could elude him. Then at night he would preach from fifty to ninety minutes, and afterward go into an intense revival service for as much longer. It was simply tremendous, and all through the years godly men who were witnesses of his work felt called upon to warn him that it is not in mortal flesh and blood to endure such a strain; to all of which expostulations he paid no heed. His nature and his methods were his own; he must work either by them or not at all.

He was shrewd and skillful in finding access to human nature and in subduing it to his own and the Master's will. He had large influence with men of the world, moving easily with a brotherly informality and genial *bonhomie* into their friendship; and, once on the inside of their confidence, he watched his chance to grapple with them in order that he might make them prisoners for his captain, Christ. An illustration of this influence is seen in the fact that he was for twelve years the popular and beloved chaplain of the Brooklyn regiment known as "the fighting Fourteenth."

Dr. Peck was one of the men who know how to preach mightily from manuscript, that being his pulpit method for the most part during his ministry. Even when delivering his sermon word for word from paper his earnestness was such that he preached

> As never sure to preach again,
> And as a dying man to dying men.

When he spoke extemporaneously it was not infrequently like the starting of heavy machinery, his utterance and action a little labored and slow at the beginning, until the ponderous engines got under good headway; then it was powerful and sometimes terrific in volume of voice, in rapidity of utterance, in physical action, in the torrent of passion, the whole man—body, soul, and spirit—carried away by the momentous business.

A man's strength is often his danger. Overconfidence carries him to the breaking point. Dr. Peck is dead too early because he was strong, not because he was weak; just as some men are alive because they have known themselves to be feeble and have

been proportionally prudent in exposure and exertion. Speaking concerning his Chicago pastorate recently to a friend, he said, "I was a Hercules then." His habits of overexertion were so fixed that he could not speak in public with moderation. If he restrained himself he did not have a good time. When he reported with satisfaction of a Conference address, "I had a rattling good time," we knew it meant that he had thrown himself with complete abandon into the effort. At missionary anniversaries he stormed audiences so that they spoke of him as an "oratoric cyclone;" the speaker himself being visibly swayed by strong emotion, his whole frame in action, and his great limbs moving like the branches of an oak tree in a gale. In the office-work he was a prompt, capable, and faithful secretary, holding his mind steadily against his work and acquiring such familiarity with, and ready handling of, all details as only constant mental contact with them makes possible. He steeped himself in the business till he was soaked full of it, ready to emit correct information under the pressure of any call. It was not in him to shirk, and he applied himself to the confining and burdensome work of the office with unsparing and unremitting assiduity.

More confidently and positively than most men Dr. Peck believed that God was with him in all he said and did. Intending to be always on the Lord's side, he took it as axiomatic that Providence was on his side in an extraordinary manner. A most remarkable demonstration of the truth of our statement may be found in the sermon which he delivered ten years ago last October in Hanson Place pulpit, reviewing his twenty-five years of ministerial life, and which was published under the title, "Special Providence Illustrated." That sermon closed with Whittier's lines:

I know not what the future hath
  Of marvel or surprise,
Assured alone that life and death
  His goodness underlies.

. . . .

I know not where his islands lift
  Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
  Beyond his love and care.

When the fatal sickness came that dominant will, which had ridden through life like a horseman booted and spurred, resented the furious onset of disease bringing the menace of death. Freed, as he supposed, from an ailment of years before, he thought

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himself a strong man in his prime, with greater life before him. To him it was incredible that the end could be at hand. He had much to live for and was resolved to live. After a day and a night of dreadful illness he welcomed his physician's early visit next day with buoyant and cheery courage: "I'm much better this morning, doctor. I *guess* the Church thinks I'm worth saving, and I'm *sure* this little woman thinks so." But manly courage and determination availed nothing before that mysterious power at whose attack an ancient king of France, the wild Clotaire, groaned out, "Who is this great god that breaks down the strength of the mightiest kings?"

The writer of these memorial words had nearby knowledge of the facts herein affirmed. Succeeding him at St. John's Church, Brooklyn, in 1881, and experiencing the difficulty a stranger finds in holding on to a mass of new converts gathered under the ministry of another man, the writer little dreamed that thirteen years later he would be, outside of the immediate family, the nearest eyewitness of Dr. Peck's last half year of life, dwelling under the same roof and in almost daily converse out of business hours; least of all could he foresee that it would fall to him to assist in ministering to the sufferings of the final illness, to pray beside him, to put roses in his sick room, to help hold his head and lift his feet, to watch through the slow, solemn night hours the failing pulse and shortening breath, and to see the strong man's eyes close for the last long sleep. How sacred, in the unknown possibilities they hold, are our relations with our fellow-men! What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!

> How beautiful it is for man to die
> Upon the walls of Zion; to be called,
> Like a watch-worn and weary sentinel,
> To put his armor off, and rest—in heaven!

He that turneth many to righteousness "doth set his name a star among the stars."

SEASONABLE LITERATURE.

The magazines issue midsummer numbers and aim to pitch the contents on the keynote of the bright, warm, languid solstice. It is the season when man's mental as well as physical nature craves something light and easy, loose and cool. Body and mind alike court exposure to the elements, and find refreshment in being washed by winds and bathed by waves, rinsing off life's varied soilure in water, air, and sun. A worn and torn man re-

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sorts to nature, as a tired child goes to its mother, for soothing and repairs. Once outside of walls and doors, one instinctively takes off his hat in the inarticulate and subconscious hope that the wandering breeze, straying his way, may not only cool his forehead, but somehow get through the skull into the heated chambers of the mind, where his very thoughts sit round *en déshabillé*, perspiring like Turkish bathers in the sudatorium.

For all things lawful there is a time and season. Doubtless there are books seasonable for summer, as others for winter, and mental needs of August unlike those of January. Winter days within house walls, that shut out the world and shut one in with his thoughts, protecting him from allurements and distractions, favor hard thinking, close reasoning, and formidable tasks; but the heated term is not for severe study or weighty reading, not for volumes logical or theological, nor for the tough problems and exacting work of exact sciences.

The season calls for such books as will console the heart, heal the wounded spirit, happify the mind, favor and foster the nobler sentiments, enrich and enliven the imagination, and take us out of ourselves into the free fellowship and liberal franchise of the wide, wide world. One can do worse than to embark on such a book as Kingsley's *Westward Ho*, to voyage with great mariners, with heaven's gales bellying the sails and English manhood at its splendid best—a book which does long dead heroes the justice, and mankind the service, of making immortally memorable such forgotten worthies as Drake and Hawkins and Frobisher, insuring that centuries to come shall be familiar with them and know them in their habit as they lived; a book in which the stout oaken ships rock and dip as if to the rhythm of the breezy and buoyant lines:

Over the sea our galleys went,
  With cleaving prows, in order brave,
  To a speeding wind and a bounding wave,
A gallant armament;

a book which takes us through the thronging events, the adventurous and glowing action, which stirred and lit "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," finishing with that sea fight, fierce and famous, which ended in the Spanish Armada's defeat, dispersion, and destruction, when not only hardy Protestant sailors, but even the "winds and waves had commission from God to fight under British banners."

Is there propriety, profit, or pleasure in reading out of doors?

Shall a man take books with him in his outing? Does the printed page gain anything with the light of the open sky on it, and the southwest wind, like a well-meaning child, clumsily fumbling and trying to turn the leaves for the reader? It is not impossible that some pieces of literature may have their charm and power enhanced by being set in the scene and the season which suits them, so that the narrow letterpress has the broad bordering world around it as a gorgeously illuminated margin. Much poetry will do to go abroad with, and books which give the poetry and grandeur of science lose nothing in the presence of the beautiful, sublime, and wonderful world which science studies. *The Credentials of Science the Warrant of Faith* is a book to gladden and glorify a whole summer. Parts of the New Testament gain by being read under the open heavens. Suitable environment may throw new light upon the sacred page. It has been found unutterably impressive to read under Bethany olives and fig trees the record of the raising of Lazarus and the visits of Jesus to the friendly home of Mary and Martha. How many have tried taking the fourth chapter of Matthew or first of Mark down among fishing boats by the shore, to read there the calling of Peter and Andrew, James and John, from mending or casting their Galilean nets to become fishers of men in the great sea of the world? Who of us has watched the fishing smacks come scudding home under a sky tinged with sunset and across waters sombered by the first hint of withdrawing day and approaching dark, then run down to the beach to meet them, wondering what they have caught, and seen them come through the breakers and the oarsmen leap over into the surf and haul the boats up the sloping sand, and then opened the gospels and read Luke v, 1–11, or John xxi, 1–14? Nature is a realist, able to add vividness and life-likeness even to the descriptive narratives of inspired evangelists.

Much profitable reading has been done with the blue-domed world for a reading-room and the sun for a drop-light. A man often saunters over Europe with one or another of the paper-covered Tauchnitz volumes always in his coat pocket. Thomas Coke in Atlantic voyages read on deck the pastorals of Virgil, thereby obtaining, in the midst of the vast, briny, barren sea, a delicious sense of wandering in fields and groves, through valleys and by purling brooks. The saddle was often John Wesley's study; he read history, philosophy, and poetry on horseback. He tells us how he finished the book of the tenth "Iliad" while riding down to New Castle, among the hills of Northumberland,

under the moist, gray English skies, and read a great part of the "Odyssey" coming back. In like manner did John P. Durbin study and read, as also many other studious pioneer itinerants who carried their library in their saddlebags. Niccolò Machiavelli gives us this glimpse of his manner of life at his San Casciano villa, seven miles from Florence: "I rise with the sun in the morning and go into the woods for a couple of hours. On leaving the wood I go to a spring, carrying always a book under my arm, either Dante or Petrarch or one of the minor poets, such as Tibullus or Ovid; and the time passes pleasantly enough in the meditations they suggest and inspire."

John Tyndall, spent with long, strenuous effort and depressed with the grief of futile thinking, went to the Alps. Believing that it is not good for man, either socially or intellectually, to be entirely alone, he took with him two books, Goethe's *Farbenlehre* and Alexander Bain's *Logic*, as he said, to spur up the emotions and to nourish the intellect and the will. Exhausted with many laborious months, his mind was a blank for any future work, and he suffered the depression and hopelessness which often accompany the complete ebb of intellectual force. He found in Bain what one would hardly look to find in a book on logic, a diagnosis of his own vacuous condition, with the following descriptive detail: "The uncertainty where to look for the next opening of discovery brings the pain of conflict and the debility of indecision." (It would seem to us more correct to say that the indecision of debility makes one uncertain where to look for any future opening.) On Bain's sentence Tyndall comments: "The period of mental halting between two investigations is not always one of repose. It is often an interval of doubt and discomfort, of gloom and *ennui.*" Most men, whose life bears chiefly on brain and nerve and whose work, so long as they are in it, demands incessant mental productiveness, are familiar by experience with this abysmal exhaustion and temporary despair. Was it Charles Reade, or was it Dr. J. G. Holland, or who was it, who confessed that whenever he finished writing one book his possibilities of work seemed to him to be ended forever? He was sure he could never write another. Many a minister has felt at bedtime on Sunday, after the driving duties of a week during which he has forced himself daily toward a climax of effort, as if he could never find in himself materials for another sermon. His mind seemed a dry, dead, empty desert in which nothing could ever grow. In the midsummer madness of his nervous, restless sleep he might easily dream of himself as

an extinct volcano that could never fill up and fire up and blaze again, a spent geyser that would boil and spout no more.

After long stress and outpour of nerve energy such exhaustion may be more than an affair of Sunday night, to be repaired by nine hours' sleep and a Monday outing. For it there is no surer restorative and recreation than weeks of sea or mountain, open air and sunshine, meadows and streams, in the saddle or on the wheel or the keel or afoot, rowing on lake or river, swimming in the bay, or tramping among the hills, with much free meditation, spontaneous note-making, and an occasional dip into some suitable, piquant, pregnant, informing, or stimulating book. After such weeks the minister may bring home in mind and heart sermons that will not seem to his hearers heavy and feverish, rank with the smell of midnight oil, but full of the influences of noonday, blue heavens, wholesome winds, and all the florid and succulent abundance of God's bloomy and bountiful world.

THE OUTER ADORNMENT OF LIFE.

Some part of the agitations of the time, and not a small part, comes out of our external modernity—out of the rapidly changed conditions of physical being, doing, and living. A half century has given a new face to the implemental world handled by the human soul. It would be wearisome to repeat this story of triumph over externality. Swift travel, talking wires, cheap books, cheap light, and thousands of things, big and little, enter into life and produce a new experience. Precedents, if a half century old, hardly fit us and our belongings and "questions." In this rush of change some things change not, or change little; but these are few and of no large importance. Of course the constant order of nature still brooks no interference; but "things" are transformed and ushered into new utilities and become practically a new and large "natural bounty."

Withal the human soul, the handler of the implemental world, has not changed. This new bounty—by the side of which the old bounty of soil and mine fall into discredit with us—is plentifully advertised, praised, and coveted. This is partly because it is new, partly because it requires a new effort to obtain the new things, partly because it is measurably limited. To enjoy all the modern fashions and improvements one must live in a city; hence the rush to the centers. One must also have a larger income; hence the discontent with mediocre fortune. This discontent, taking new forms in politics, is not conspicuous in the poor, as

our fathers would have defined the poor; it is larger in groups our fathers would have described as comfortable, or even rich. The human soul has awakened to covetousness of a long list of desirable things, and meets an obstruction in the difficulty of obtaining them. Philanthropists are more or less at fault, and they waste ink and breath in describing plans to relieve poverty at a time when poverty of necessities is not a common cause of complaining. There is such poverty, but the poverty of social romances is a poverty of luxuries or of things which were luxuries even fifty years ago. To get easily and certainly all those novelties of material life which a half century has produced—these are our problems. That all people may get them, so to say, by touching an electric button—this is our philanthropy.

The big machines, their cheap production, and mercantile competition tend, of course, to the wider distribution of luxuries. They clamor for a large market, and so business concurs with philanthropy in seeking to give everybody everything. The head of the family cannot stop the strain of exertion when he has provided roof, food, and necessary clothing. He must go on straining to get for his loved ones an infinite variety of ornaments of life; and the ornaments are thought of now as necessaries were thought of by our fathers. A thoughtful man, given to economic calculations, recently observed that in his city ninety per cent of the people live in houses or flats too costly for their means, and so are perpetually railing at high rents. He therefore gathered a little company of tenants and said to them: "You need not live in these costly homes. Decent dwellings are in the market for one third of the rent you now pay. Fit your demands for homes to your means and you will find a supply to meet those demands. If the dwellings do not exist they will be built for you." This address provoked a storm of indignation: "Do you think our families would live in hovels?" The economist was a "brute" to his audience. Every disciple of Franklin who pleads on these lines is a brute, a heartless thinker, a hired servant of that modern devil called Capital, or of Wall Street, or of whatever other demoniacal force may be thought of as hindering our easy access to all desirable ornaments of life. A house costing less than from three to five thousand dollars is "a hovel" to a clerk earning eight hundred dollars a year. The case was tersely put by a street car conductor: "How is a man earning thirty-five dollars a month to pay thirty of it for rent? Rents must come down or wages must go up."

It is not strange that scheming politicians humor the vagaries of the agitator's reforming imagination; it *is* strange that now and then a voice is raised against the electric button theory. We are undergoing a ferment, and the cause is the changed external world. The unchanged man wants all there is to have and enjoy—as he always did—and, with a world full of new enjoyments, he is not content to take less than his neighbor takes. If he must take less he reaches up as far as he can, and insists that his pay shall rise to the level of his rent and to the level of all else he has reached out and seized. Of course there is always a body of nascent capitalists who accumulate by living down below their desires. But the vast body of the children of this very new world of ours take the ornaments of life as a right; and they expect God or the government to remove any obstacles to their free and happy possession.

This outbreak of unrestrained desire affects morals and religion. The bettered order of life suggests desire and weakens faith. But the outbreak is specially apparent in the political world when the sense of defrauded hope is naturally active, when an increasing number of people look for happiness to be created and protected. This tendency is encouraged by a reflex action of the machinery of abundance. Wider enjoyment of the ornaments of life means larger possibilities of gain in producing and distributing them. This fact is brought within the popular vision by concentration of production. Goods could not be cheap in the old way of making them and selling them. But the new way means that a man or a corporation may gain a single, whole, and entire cent from each one of sixty millions of people in a single year. This means sixty thousand dollars—means millionaires. The cent may represent a saving of one hundred cents to the consumer; but the swollen aggregate of millions perplexes the voter and suggests to him the "robber barons" of an earlier time. And so rights and wrongs, honest gains and dishonest gains, get jumbled and confused in the heats of irritated and discontented thinking.

The new order, with its banks and paper money and intricate system of exchange, has created puzzles for average minds—perhaps for the best minds, if they would but confess—and we are hardly aware how new it all is, how recently the merchant weighed out gold and silver in making payments. Elaborate contrivances for extending credit, the smooth facility of coupon bonds, and the neatness and dispatch of mortgaging one's house disguise the growing debts of the people; and when pay day

comes the careless user of the ornaments of life is tempted to think that the mortgage means a fraud at his expense. A disciple of Franklin would say, "It is too easy to get into debt." The modern man complains of the necessity of paying to get out of debt. The easily made debt is, indeed, a prized ornament of life, and the benevolent deities of modern paganism are expected to remove the debt in some painless way. All the science, economic or ethic, which is concerned is but crudely conceived and wildly argued, because the science has to deal with complexities which the older world knew nothing about.

An old-fashioned way of reasoning about desired things still lingers with us. Its way is to advise prudence, self-restraint, self-denial. That means going without the ornaments until we are able to procure them by full payment. A modern way is to get them when and how we can and to ask the government to make it easy to pay for them. And it is not strange that a growing force exerts itself in the direction of equality of possession, and that many sincere people believe in the possibility of realizing the electric-button theory of obtaining our desires. One has only to pass along a street of stores and look at the goods displayed in their windows, to get a hint of our troubled desires. If he will also look at the clothing of the people who throng the street he will get another hint. A visit to the homes of these people will add still another. Luxuries are abundant and are widely distributed. But their getting strains the muscles and empties the purse; and there still remains in these restless souls a great yearning of unsatisfied desire. Morals, religion, science—all are sinned against by aching hearts wanting more, while the ornaments in possession represent debts or neglected moral claims. Is it possible to bring the earning power up to the level of this demand for the ornaments of life? Economists despair of that. Is it possible to devise an electric-button system of supply? Science does not answer hopefully. But were either possible the philosopher would say that some new outbreak of unsatisfied desire would certainly come to pass. The ornaments attained, the soul would make a new and impossible demand upon the world of "things."

SUICIDE.

One of the saddest and most painful features of modern civilization is the frequency of suicide. It invests the pages of the secular press with tragic, mournful, and suggestive interest. In one July

day of the year of grace 1893 no less than six persons died by their own hands in the city of New York. Rarely a day passes without attempt by some unfortunate to throw off the burden of a weary life and to rush uncalled into the unveiled presence of the Almighty. These phenomena are of sufficient gravity to enlist the most careful study of philanthropists, and especially of Christian clergymen.

The annual number of suicides in New York, per million inhabitants, is given by one statistician of high repute at 144 between 1871 and 1880. In the city of Naples it was 34; Rome, 74; London, 87; Genoa, 135; Turin, 150; Berlin, 170; Florence, 180; St. Petersburg, 206; Dresden, 240; Brussels, 271; Vienna, 287; Copenhagen, 302; Stockholm, 354; Paris, 422. In London the annual average per million inhabitants declined from 107 in 1841–50 to 85 in 1871–80; in Paris it increased from 488 in 1820–30 to 573 in 1841–50, and thence declined to 422 in 1871–80. The annual report of the Health Department of the city of New York for the year ending December 31, 1891, gives the number of suicides within that period at 300. Of these, 239 were males and 61 females. Sixty-one males and 23 females were natives of the United States; 178 males and 38 females were of foreign birth. Thirty-eight were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, 146 from twenty-five to forty-five, 96 from forty-five to sixty-five, and 20 over sixty-five. The total number of suicides in the city from 1869 to 1892 was 4,073, of whom 3,239 were males and 834 females, while 1,043 were of native, and 3,030 of foreign, birth. Prior to 1878 the nativity of suicides was not recorded in detail by the Health Department. Those recorded since then, to the close of 1891, number 2,306 males and 555 females—2,861 in all. Seventy-two were natives of France, 1,147 of Germany, 290 of Ireland, 741 of the United States, while natives of other countries were in proportion to their respective numbers. Nearly seventy-five per cent of the whole were of foreign birth—people utterly discouraged, for the most part, by the difficulties of social life in a new and strange country.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* states the number of suicides, per million inhabitants, during 1882, in Austria, as 158; Belgium, 105; Denmark, 255; France, 191; Italy, 49; Prussia, 191; Saxony, 371; Sweden, 105; England and Wales, 74; Ireland, 21; Scotland, 44; and in the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—the only ones returning statistics on this subject—as 88, 109, and 101, respectively. The United States Census

of 1890 has not as yet reported any returns for the country at large, nor is it likely to do so.

Child suicide is of more frequent occurrence on the Continent than in the British Isles. Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics* states that in the five years ending 1880 no fewer than 238 children under fifteen years of age committed suicide in France. Dr. Ogle observes that the suicide of young persons occurs oftener than is generally supposed. "Few," he says, "would imagine that one out of every 119 young men who reach the age of twenty dies ultimately by his own hand; yet such is the case." His figures also show that one out of every 312 girls who reach the age of fifteen ends her own life. He further says that, "broadly speaking, female suicides are never less than fifteen per cent, and never more than thirty, of the average annual number of suicides in any country."

Religious beliefs are highly influential on the suicidal disposition. The firmer the faith in the being and government of God, the immortality of the soul, and personal responsibility for the deeds done in the body the more powerfully is the tendency to self-destruction restrained. It is said that in Great Britain and Ireland 63 Protestants and 17 Roman Catholics to the million inhabitants commit suicide; in Prussia, 170 and 52; Bavaria, 195 and 69; in Austria-Hungary, 140 and 90; in Switzerland, 262 and 81. Of the Protestants, so called, it may truthfully be remarked that many of them are such in rejection not only of the errors, but also of the truths, inculcated by Roman Catholicism. Legoyt affirms that the Jews have even a lower rate of suicide than the Roman Catholics. Unmarried are more liable than married people to suicidal mania. In France the proportion of single to married persons is 54 to 46; in Germany, 57 to 43; in Belgium, 55 to 45; in Italy, 56 to 44; and in Switzerland, 57 to 43. Contrary to the popular notion summer is the season in which most suicides occur. The shrinking from the plunge into cold water during the other seasons of the year is held to account in part for this. Saturday shows the fewest number of suicides of any day of the week in France, and Tuesday and Thursday the most. Hanging is the mode mostly adopted; next drowning, and then poisoning. The high rate of suicide among medical men, chemists, and druggists may be attributed in part to their familiarity with toxic substances. In all countries the suicide rate is higher for the educated than for the uneducated classes. The rate for soldiers is enormously in excess of that for any other oc-

cupation. Shooting and cutting are naturally suggested to them by the circumstances of their daily life.

Concerning the causes of suicide, the European average is thirty-four per cent from insanity, twenty-three from grief, fifteen from drink, and twenty-eight from various causes. Caspar ascribes twenty-five per cent of the suicides in Germany to alcoholism, and Brown twelve per cent of those in England. In the United States the proportion is, in all probability, higher than in Germany. Among the contributing causes of suicide are reckoned the increase of railways, steamers, and commerce, and the consequent stimulation of the nervous system; the greater consumption of spirits and flesh foods; the rapid growth of urban, and decline of rural, life; the unprecedented growth of wealth; the practice of divorce; the keener struggle for existence; and the rapid spread of secular education and infidelity. Insanity of body or brain is usually the direct occasion of suicide. This may be hereditary. Or it may be induced by endemic or epidemic disease; by intoxicants, drugs, lechery, or overwork—as in the case of Romilly and Mackintosh, the great law reformers; by disappointment in love, failure to obtain satisfactory maintenance, sorrow for the loss of deceased friends, or remorse for error or for guilt; by despair—as in the case of Lingg, the Chicago anarchist bomb manufacturer; by melancholia—as in monks, nuns, and ascetics. Others, insane in moral, if not mental, quality, sacrifice their lives to obtain sums of money for their families from railroad corporations or from life insurance societies. In the case of truly godly men, like the poet Cowper, who attempted self-destruction, the intense physical misery of existence has overpowered the love of life, imperiously dominated the feeble will, and reduced them to that abnormal condition in which, with meaning different from that of Paul, but quite as truthful, they could say, "For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that I do." Not infrequently the suicidal madness has been contagious. Indians, in vast numbers, killed themselves to escape the cruelties of their Spanish conquerors; European witches ended life to avoid torture; and for two centuries, from the end of the fifteenth to that of the seventeenth, Neapolitans, said to have been bitten by the tarantula, thronged in multitudes to the sea, chanted a wild hymn of welcome to death, and passionately rushed to drowning in the waves. Lecky thinks that modern optimism may fitly be qualified by the fact that statistics show suicide to be rapidly increasing, "and to be

peculiarly characteristic of those nations which rank most highly in intellectual development and in general civilization." "Increase of insanity," Maudsley remarks in his *Pathology of Mind*, "is a penalty which an increase of our present civilization necessarily pays." Mental completeness, apparently such, does not always imply moral sanity. Some prefer evil to good, and wrong to right. Insanity is in their passions, not their reasons; in their wills, not their judgments. The devils believe, perhaps more intelligently than Christians, but they tremble in their belief, and still remain devils.

The moral insanity which dares the murder of one's own life does not free the subject thereof from responsibility to the Creator and Preserver of all, whose is our being and who is entitled to the best services we can render; nor from responsibility to the family for whom the individual should live, to the country of which he is a citizen, to the world, of whose brotherhood he is a member, and to all who need his beneficent and noblest exertions. Rousseau, with a deep knowledge of the human heart, "revealed the selfishness that lies at the root of most suicides, exhorting all who felt impelled to it to set about some work for the good of others, in which they would assuredly find relief." This was Christian counsel, so far as it went; but it fails to cover the whole field of human duty and privilege. Love, revealed through fullest personal service in all our relationships, is the normal quality and characteristic of the ideal man. Suicide is the dire offspring of unbelief. It repudiates obligation to God and humanity. It is most frequent among those who have discarded faith in revealed religion. It contemns the body as the temple of the living God, and its members as the instruments wherewith the spirit may glorify God and bless the human race. It was a favorite with skeptical Stoics of the centuries immediately before and after the birth of Him who is the light and life of the world. They asserted independence of circumstances, except of death. They defied death by affirming the right of the individual to close life when it pleased himself or whenever he had satisfactory reasons for so doing. They taught that under certain conditions suicide is a duty and heroic virtue; that self-sacrifice for country or friends justify it; and on this ground Cato, whose treatment of his slaves was infamously cruel, personally illustrated his own theory. They affirmed that poignant distress, poverty, hopeless disease, bodily mutilation or other affliction, loss of liberty, infirmity of age, or any essential hin-

drance to living freely and reasonably was a hint divine—if there were anything divine—that it was time to make one's exit voluntarily from the stage of action. "The door is open," was proudly ejaculated. A single way, it was said, leads into life, but thousands lead out of it. Therefore wretchedness is the subject's own fault. The lancing of an artery opens the way to deliverance. Death is unavoidable, and the prudent man will not shun even painful suicide. Aptly does Blackstone* term "self-murder the pretended heroism, but real cowardice, of the Stoic philosophers who destroyed themselves to avoid those ills which they had not the fortitude to endure." The aged Zeno hanged himself because he had broken one of his fingers, and the sublime Cleanthes starved himself to death because his gums were sore. Their sect was notoriously addicted to felonious homicide. Seneca endeavored to moderate the "passion for suicide" in his disciples. Yet he defended suicide for the reason that it is an assertion of true self-dependence and freedom, and that it should be made even in the threatening prospect of evil; and, under the reign of the atrocious Nero, he wrote: "Depart from life as your impulse leads you, whether it be by the sword, or the rope, or the poison creeping through the veins. Go your way and break the chains of slavery. Man should seek the approbation of others in this life; his death concerns himself alone. If life pleases you, live. If not, you have the right to return whence you came." Civil law, at that time, recognized suicide as a right and as a relief from intolerable suffering. "Above all things," said Epictetus, "remember that the door is open. . . . When all things begin to pall upon you retire. But if you stay do not complain." Silius Italicus, one of the latest Latin poets, chose to retire in this manner, and so did many others who thus sought to abridge the pangs of disease.

In vain did Stoicism affirm that pain is not a real evil. It permitted a voluntary departure from life, which was a contradiction of its own creed. Sublime as some aspects of this philosophy were, it confessed inability to bear the miseries of real life, much more to reach that height of Christian exaltation which glories "in tribulations also: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." The Stoic knew nothing of an infinite Father whose nature is

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* *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, book iv, p. 189.

love; had little, if any, notion of personal guilt; and scornfully declined humiliation as the worst of stains. He possessed no faith in God, no knowledge of how obedience is quickened by love. He had no hope of personal immortality, but at the best only a mournful aspiration toward it; no assurance that all things work together for good to them that love God; no dawn of confidence in the celestial bliss of a life to come. He could only defy fate, blind his mental vision, steel his heart against all consequences, and, leaping into Stygian darkness, hope to find refuge from misery in annihilation.

Epicurus, who taught that pleasure is the end of action, exhorted people "to weigh carefully whether they would prefer death to come to them, or would themselves go to death." Lucretius, the illustrious poet, Cassius, the tyrannicide, Atticus, the friend of Cicero, the voluptuary Petronius, and the philosopher Diodorus, among his disciples, decided to "go to death." Their view of creation was that of the bitter, atheistic Hæckel, who pessimistically declares that, instead of "that kindly and peaceful life which the goodness of the Creator ought to have prepared for his creatures, we rather find—if there be a Creator—everywhere a pitiless, most embittered struggle of all against all. Nowhere in nature, no matter where we turn our eyes, does that idyllic peace exist of which poets sing. We find everywhere a struggle and a real striving to annihilate neighbors and competitors. Passion and selfishness, conscious or unconscious, are everywhere the motive power of life." *

The suicide, endowed with power of "thought and design, a faculty to distinguish the nature of actions, to discern the difference between moral good and evil," is, like the Stoic, without God and "without hope in the world." Eighteen centuries have passed since Seneca died. Fresh light from God's word has broken upon the darkness of this world. Yet men love darkness rather than light "because their deeds are evil." In the gospel radiance of the nineteenth century multitudes are discussing the question, as stated by Paley in his *Moral and Political Philosophy*, "May every man who chooses to destroy his life, innocently do so"—particularly if he should leave none to lament his death? The only answer from the view-point of Christian ethics is a most emphatic negative. If no positive biblical precept prohibit suicide the whole spirit and tenor of the Bible forbid it. General choice of death by those who groan and sweat

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* *History of Creation*, vol. 1, p. 20.

under the burdens of a weary life would be wholesale robbery of our heavenly Father, gross injustice to society by the abstraction of useful and important forces, and unjust affliction to many families. It would mean the forfeiting of all opportunity to ameliorate one's condition in the present or future state, and would load the memory of the self-murdered with the disgrace of deserting duty, defrauding just creditors, and atheistically defying the Lord God omnipotent.

Such criticisms are natural, not only to Christian, but also to heathen, men. The best and wisest of the old philosophers are at one with Christian thinkers on this point. Pythagoras and Plato condemned it on the ground that we are all soldiers of God, stationed at appointed posts of duty, which it is rebellion against our Maker to desert. Aristotle and the Greek legislators placed the wrong of suicide in the abandonment of duty to the State, to which our services are owing. Plutarch and other writers argued that true courage is shown in the manly endurance of suffering, and that suicide, being an act of flight, is an act of cowardice and, therefore, unworthy of man. The Neoplatonists mystically said that it springs from perturbation of the soul and is, therefore, a crime. "The law of England," writes Blackstone, "wisely and religiously considers that no man hath a power to destroy life but by commission from God, the Author of it, and, as the suicide is guilty of a double offense—one spiritual, in invading the prerogative of the Almighty," the other against the temporal power, which has an interest in the preservation of all its subjects—the law has ranked this among the highest crimes, making it a felony committed on one's own person.

The original right of the Almighty to all we have and are and can do is absolute and unqualified. Reverently we say it, that this right is doubled by redemption. "Know ye not that . . . . are not your own? For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." "None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living." This latter fact invests each human life with an unspeakable sanctity. It should be honored and reverenced as being peculiarly the Lord's. To perform all the duties allotted to us therein requires every moment of the time at command, and none can guiltlessly refuse obe-

dience. Perfectness of moral nature is attainable only through suffering. Only thus did Regulus embody the ideal of a Roman citizen, and Job that of a patriarchal saint. Suffering, as Madame de Staël has beautifully shown, softens, purifies, and deepens the character. Habitual and submissive resignation, accompanied by zealous activity, is not only the highest duty, but is also a means of purest consolation, and at the same time the appointed condition of moral betterment. The Captain of our salvation was made "perfect through sufferings." Suicide implies rebellion against God, is a sin that does not admit of repentance, and is, therefore, an unpardonable crime. For this reason the early Christians, who, in passionate frenzy for martyrdom, sacrificed their own lives, had no hope except in what Roman Catholicism styles "the uncovenanted mercies of God." St. Augustine decidedly condemned suicide in any form or for any reason, and especially such as was practiced by the *Circumcelliones* in the fourth century. These killed themselves in great numbers, imagining that thereby they would secure eternal salvation. Neither Augustine nor the Church of his time, however, denounced the slow suicide committed by the early ascetics through their absurd austerities. In the mediæval era the criminality of suicide was discussed by Abelard and St. Thomas Aquinas; and Dante devoted some telling lines to a description of the experiences of suicidal homicides in the *inferno*. The Council of Arles, in the fifth century, pronounced suicide to be at the instigation of the devil. Another council, in the following century, ordained that no religious rites should be performed at the tomb of the culprit, and that no masses should be said for the repose of his soul. St. Louis added to this deterrent legislation by confiscating the property of the dead man. In some countries the corpse of the suicide was dragged upon a hurdle through the streets, hung up with the head downward, thrown into the public sewer, burnt, buried in the sand below high-water mark, or interred—as in England—at the crossing of two roads, and transfixed by a stake driven through it. The result was a reaction against suicidal tendencies. Diseased imaginations were kept from self-destruction by these hideously grotesque outrages upon the senseless remains. The certainty that religious, legislative, and social influences would aggravate the agony of surviving relatives operated with even greater force, and the number of suicides greatly diminished. The statutes confiscating the property of the deliberate self-homicide to the crown still disgrace the code of English law; but

public opinion "and the charitable perjury of juries," as Lecky* remarks, "render them inoperative."

What, in view of existing phenomena, is the duty of the Christian Church and ministry? Religious motives, as we have seen, are the most potent dissuasives from this sorrowful crime. Revealed religion powerfully presents four doctrines which ought to be clearly, impressively, and persistently enforced in every church, Sunday school—day school, if possible—and home within the American republic. These are the government of God, the responsibility of the individual, the immortality of the soul, and the certainty of future reward and punishment. The latter, according to Herbert Spencer, is absolutely necessary to the accommodation of man to his environment. An infinitely higher authority than he impliedly makes the same statement. The duty of unselfish consecration to the service of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the race he died and lives to save, should be pressed with weightiest emphasis. Faith in the overruling providence of God, as simple duty and as the means whereby the heart and mind are kept in perfect peace, should be matter of constant inculcation. A correlative duty is that of resignation to the divine will—resignation not like the apathy of fatalism, but involving the active and passive spirit of the prayer, "Thy will be done." Faith, spirit, lives akin to, but higher than, those recorded so glowingly in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews are the first moral needs of the nineteenth century.

With us no melancholy void,
No moment lingers unemployed,
  Or unimproved, below;
Our weariness of life is gone,
Who live to serve our God alone,
  And only thee to know.

GOVERNMENT BY REPRESENTATION ONLY.

The challenge of our representative system by the so-called industrial armies is probably a passing incident of our public life. Though it is far from being a solitary thing in its kind, it is probably the most striking example of American revolt from government by the majority as determined by elections. It is striking, because we held elections in 1892 upon defined issues, and chose representatives having definite orders from the people. If the mandates are not executed the complaints should come

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* *History of European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 59.

from the majorities who elected a Congress. In fact, the complaints come from the defeated, from minorities; and the industrials represent largely ideas which had no place or only a small place in the canvass for votes. The industrial (?) armies represent a revolting minority, and they are a significant indication of a change in American temper; for there is undoubtedly a considerable development of sympathy with the extraordinary proceedings of the Coxeys, Randalls, and Kellys. In short, dissatisfaction with representative government is a large element in the making of current history. An easy test is this: Would not a very large majority of us hail with joy the news that neither Congress nor a State Legislature could meet for ten years to come? We have come to fear more than we hope when a legislative body convenes. Most of us desire some new legislation; but we would forego that for peace and security. We could endure present laws; we fear the effects of changes in the law.

This crisis has long been coming on. It has grown more definite because the perfected work of the political class has taken from the enlightened people and given to the ignorant and the debased an effectual control of elections, to such a degree that a senator or a representative often represents only a "gang" or a "combine," managed by a rich, unscrupulous man. Besides, politicians have audaciously undertaken every two years, for a decade past, to revolutionize the fiscal and commercial policy of the nation, and so to subvert the basis of business security. All business proceeds upon an assumption that to-morrow and next year will be as to-day and this year, so far as legislation can enter into calculations involving time as a factor.

It is plain that, if such conditions continue to surround government by representation, and if these conditions, as is probable, grow more influential—wealthy combinations, ignorant or purchased voters, and interested voting becoming the most potent factors in law making—then our confidence in representative government must decline more and more.

The system assumes a majority and a minority party. But we are threatened with a break-up into a half dozen or more parties. And if there be only three, and the third assume a certain importance, legislation may be controlled by the smallest of the three parties—by a small minority. This situation is actually existent in England and in the United States. In both countries third parties hold in a measure a balance of power. Government by a majority is not free from ethical difficulties; and the only

moral appeasement of distrust comes, with us, from the Constitution and the courts, as protective of minority rights, and in England from the actual influence of the crown and lords. But government by a small minority is intolerable; and even when the minority must win the cooperation of a larger body of legislators, it is felt as a grievance that the larger body should surrender some part of its opinions and should violate the spirit or letter of its pledges to the people.

This is a brief outline of the situation. It may be well to recall that government by representation alone is a novelty. The English system did not become such in fact until the middle of the century—if, in fact, it has yet become such. The influence of the crown, peers, and intellectual classes controlled law making certainly down to 1850, and the queen and lords are still too influential to permit the entire control of law making by the electors of the empire. With us, down to a recent date, influences akin in character to the English conservative forces have checked the action of the pure democracy of our elective franchise; nor have they yet ceased to check that action. But the check is plainly less effectual year by year.

The truth is that government by a free and unchecked majority seems to be the ideal of the time; and it is among us moderns a pure novelty. It has often failed in the past. The wisest among us have always regarded it as an experiment, and have confessed that the intelligence and virtue of the people is absolutely essential to its success. Fifty years ago, though the unlettered were more numerous relatively, our confidence in the system was very strong. It has been greatly weakened by the growth of practical politics, by the vast increase of centralized wealth, by the failure of disinterestedness in electors and elected, and by the immense weight of the ignorant and debauched vote. All this has come about by the semisocialistic legislation of the period, by the constant appeal to the interests of voters, by the increasing dependence of production and trade upon congressional decisions—that is to say, upon "popular verdicts" to be interpreted and executed by a three-party government beset on all sides by the clamor of the crowds and the subtler whispers of the wealthy few. Is there the smallest reason for expecting an arrest of the growth of distrust? It would seem that so long as a Congress has the power of life and death, alike over the corporation and the wage-earner, the interested element in voting must be dominant and more and more suppress the force of disinterested and self-renouncing

patriotism. And, say what men may of the impracticability of such a theory, it will be found to be true that every human organization must live, if it live gloriously, upon the self-renouncing spirit. A government by pure selfishness must be a government by civil war, for the interests can never be harmonized or definitely compromised ; and the war must at length become internecine, destroying the contending self-seekers and the rest of the people along with them. As yet we seem to be a long way from this undesirable end of representative government. Our safety is for the time secured by the enlightened self-control and self-surrender to the duties of patriotism of a vast body of Americans, whose check upon representation is, though little organized, a powerful obstruction to the successful operations of the selfish element in political affairs.

If government by representation only is an experiment apparently on the road to failure, what may be expected to become of our institutions? The danger may be very great, and yet may be avoided; and it will be avoided if the disinterested maintain their check upon public life. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this check will retain its practical ascendency in all major concernments. But to do this enlightened patriotism must wisely dismiss its ideal of an unchecked democracy; or rather, since it has never altogether adopted that ideal, it must wisely begin to condemn it frankly and oppose it openly. At this present it seems to be required of us all to profess faith in a kind of government our fathers did not found, and to apologize for the conservative elements in the Constitution they bequeathed to us. The checks of the Constitution were meant to obstruct the free play of representative government ; and it is not an idle charge, nor is it one of dishonor, that the framers of the Constitution "distrusted the people." The truth in the case is that elective victories may be won against the people by ignorant, interested, and debauched voting. And it is conceivable that the elected representation may not represent.

When and wherever representation fails the executive and judicial power may effectively resist aggression upon rights, if enlightened and disinterested public opinion shall frankly and openly support the more stable power in public life. Whether we shall escape the debauching influence of semisocialistic demands for legislation of a dangerous kind may be doubtful; but rights will be safe so long as the courts have the brains of the nation to buttress their constitutional independence.

THE ARENA.

TOLSTOÏ'S EXPERIMENT.

The fire of Tolstoï's genius does not burn low in his retirement. The principles of *My Religion*, which he evolved out of his prodigious learning and exciting career, he is attesting with a pertinacity as sincere as it is heroic. It is a Titanic effort, which commands the respectful attention even of those who reject his doctrine. His attitude is of commanding interest, because of its contrast with that of many of his countrymen who, like him, have reached the conclusion that society is altogether evil, but who, unlike him, believe that the only remedy is destructive revolution.

His cure for the prevalent artificial life is a return to simplicity, nonresistance, nature. And this he believes is the religion of the Christ, as fully set forth in the Sermon on the Mount. But in this particular the great Russian is far astray. The Sermon on the Mount is not the substance of the new life which Jesus gives us in himself. It is the spiritual essence of the ancient Judaism; and every precept it contains is latent somewhere in the law and the prophets. In that sermon there is nothing that is distinctively Christian. There is not a hint of regeneration, the Holy Spirit, the atonement, or Christ as the spring of the new life. The master in literature has not proven himself a master in the Gospel. He is only *in transitu*. He is hardly that; for he mistakes the bridge from legalism to life for the life itself.

No one who is familiar with *My Confession* need be at a loss for the real secret of Tolstoï's career. It is the old sad story told over and over again by Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek, and German philosophers and echoed by many of smaller measure. How could he understand life who had so despicably abused it? His confession is too loathsome to transcribe, and yet he makes it with as little apparent compunction as he would describe his slipping on ice. To him sin is an abyss of mistakes, with deplorable natural results. Its heinous guilt as against the holy God is barely suggested. For years and years, for purposes of gain and praise, he suppressed the deepest truths which his genius discerned.

After fifty years of self-gratification, when the animal man is surfeited and the evil days come which Solomon so graphically describes and which the Russian's history so powerfully illustrates, he thinks to tell the moral world where to find rest. We ask, Who is he—a hoary libertine and confessed self-worshiper, who, while fully aware of his crime, drove the spikes into the hands and feet of truth and turned from his husks only when he starved—who, we ask, is this gray sinner that he should declare to the world the truth of life? We would not be so cruel as to say that no vice has spiritual vision. There is a sin that is humble, that bewails itself, smites its breast, and cries for mercy. Truth turns to it with compassionate revelation. But the vice of pride ever obscures the vision divine. We cannot at this moment recall many great champions of truth

who came up out of a long career in wickedness. There have been a few, like Bunyan, John Newton, and Jerry McAuley, who became aggressive servants of the Gospel. But the heralds of a new truth have, in the main, come out of a pure life—Abraham, Moses, Samuel, Isaiah, John the Baptist, all the apostles, Timothy, most of the fathers, Luther and his compeers, Wesley, Moody. God chooses clean men to whom he intrusts his oracles. As we approach Tolstoï's religious system we plainly see that his towering pride, though all unconscious of itself, is trying out of its own genius to evolve an idea peculiar to himself—untaught by all the great teachers in history. He is going to be lone, peculiar, original, the prophet of a new religion in the world. Is not this last effort only a continuation in different form of his own confessed self-worship? Not content with the crowns he already wears, he would with his own hands place on his head that of the Lord's anointed.

Tolstoï's religion is defective in many respects. He mistakes for the core of the Gospel a single set of truths which Jesus taught. Not his teachings, but Jesus himself, is the great truth. Unlike other teachers, Christ would bring men to his own person. The philosophers said, "Believe what I say;" Jesus said, "Believe in me." The arms of a mother will comfort a weary child far more than all the true things she might say; so that child of life, who is weary, in sufferings and mysteries, gets genuine rest in the consciousness that underneath are the everlasting arms of love. That personal contact with the heart of the living Christ we cannot find in all Tolstoï's *My Religion.*

Still another fatal defect is his effort to make the heart right by mending the life. The true Gospel is just the reverse. "Be good," says world-wisdom, "and so become a child of God." "Become a child of God," says divine wisdom, "and so be good." Tolstoï's principle in this particular is that of the world.

Then, too, his plan has been literally tried, faithfully and long. The history of hermitage and monastery is before us. The literal abandonment of the world by men seeking the divine life has resulted too often in the ruin of manhood to justify a repetition of the experiment in modified form. We suspect that this is the effect, in a measure at least, on the author of the *Kreutzer Sonata,* which emits the foul odor of decaying morals. While he, with colossal will, is seeking rest in "the immeasurable silences" and filling the world with what seems to us the wail of despair, there are thousands upon thousands who are bearing a real martyrdom in the joy of a blessed faith; for they have heard the words, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

Newark, N. J. A. H. Tuttle.

A POINT IN THEOLOGY.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in speaking of the great high priest of our profession, says that he was "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." I find in the works of two prominent Methodist theologians and commentators conflicting opinions on this sub-

ject. The older of the two says that Christ was "not only sinless, and unsinning, but incapable of sinning." The other and more modern says, "He had full ability to sin, yet without the commission or guilt of sin." With the former I fully agree; with the latter I disagree. I am a believer in the impeccability of Christ, and consider this position in harmony with the teaching of Scripture and fundamental in Methodist theology. To my mind the contrary undeifies Christ's personality, destroys the design of his incarnation, and takes away the merit of his atonement. It would make him, of whom the prophet said, "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all," simply able to meet his own possible liabilities. To say or to suppose that Christ, the God-man, was capable of sinning, makes me feel as did the woman at the tomb of Jesus when she said, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulcher, and we know not where they have laid him." Pardon me for saying that I look upon all who hold such a view of the case as sympathizers with Socinianism. Let every Methodist preacher who believes and teaches that our Lord Jesus Christ was capable of committing sin, though subject to temptation, reconsider the case and come to the conclusion, as did Pilate, "I find in him no fault at all." Let us never surrender the risen Saviour, the Lord of life and glory, to be crucified as one capable of malefaction. B. F. PRICE.

Woodlawn, Md.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF LIFE.

THE article in the January-February number of the *Review* on the "Loss of an Old Friend," as the writer, Professor H. W. Conn, of Wesleyan University, designates protoplasm, is decidedly meaty and very valuable. For nearly fifty years protoplasm, a supposed quaternary jelly-like species of matter, held the scepter of authority among "positive philosophers" as "the physical basis of life." But it has been dethroned, its glory has departed, and the Wesleyan professor sorrows, as if he were suffering a deep personal loss. He must not infer, however, that at this time we can join him as a mourner with many fresh tears, inasmuch as in 1887 we were led by German *savants* to abandon, as worthless, this idol of modern speculative philosophy. A little volume, entitled *Matter, Life, and Mind*, published about that time by Phillips & Hunt, contains a record of our experience. Still, it is truly rich and refreshing to see how thoroughly Professor Conn dissects his "old friend," exposes his shortcomings, and relegates him to the rear as either fact or factor in biological science. He has thus set positive philosophy afloat again; and some other form of matter must be found to serve as a "physical basis" for "life"—the idol of materialism—or its temple will be left without a worshiper. Apparently the admirable paper before us was written to expose the present abject weakness of the materialistic theory, and to open the way for a fresh search for some new form of matter which shall account for life.

Here permit us to raise a question. Why look to matter at all as the possible basis, cause, or origin of life? Why seek the living as coming

from the dead? Why seek for life by means and methods which can deal only with matter? Could the something called life be detected by chemical analysis or discovered by the microscope, would not that fact demonstrate that the supposed "life essence" is a myth or a chimera and that matter *per se* is vital? Some thirteen kinds of matter—kinds the most abundant in nature and the best known to the chemist—enter into the structure of the human body. Oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen, and calcium constitute about ninety-two per cent of all animal organisms; and as matter is incapable of change these substances, when in the body, as blood, nerves, brain matter, etc., are exactly what they were when afloat in the air or forming the soil of a cornfield. The iron of our blood does not differ from the iron of a horseshoe. The difference between a human body, weighing, say, one hundred and fifty pounds, and the same number of pounds of thin mire taken from a swamp is simply this: life built the man's body and abides in it, and the mass is matter and nothing more.

The theory that life has a physical basis implies that matter initiates the organism, works itself into a mechanical structure, and that life is a transient resultant. If life has a "physical basis" its basis is self-formed, and matter works itself into all the organic bodies of the globe; and if thus endowed who shall put limits to its capacity? May it not as well work itself into a brain organism and compel us to hold that thought, will, and feeling are, like bile, physical secretions? In that case mind and life must be ruled out of existence as substantive reals and be regarded as physical effects.

Rather is it not clear that matter is wholly indifferent to its position, whether in dirt or a diamond, in a fig or a thistle, an eagle or a turtle, a fool or a philosopher, a king or a slave? Matter is utterly careless of its associations or of the company it keeps. It is the same to the diamond whether it be set in the mud or the crown of a king. It is not so with life. Most kinds of matter it cannot handle and will not touch, except to expel them from the body it animates. Prussic acid forced into the system is unmanageable, and life yields to it as a victor. In securing nourishment for itself the life of trees, animals, and men is marvelously selective. When matter can be made to spin a hair, or weave a tissue, or bore out a microscopic vein and drive the blood through it we may feel justified in regarding it as "the physical basis of life." Until that is done we must continue to believe that life is the base, the origin, and the cause of the existence of all organic structures, from the algæ or the lowest plant up to man.

It may be answered that vital phenomena never appear except in connection with matter; hence, logically, we must look for their origin and cause in matter. If so, then, as we never come into contact with mind except in connection with matter, it follows that thought, will, and feeling are affections of matter. If the reasoning is good in the one case it is imperative in the other; and when we have demonstrated that life and mind are simply physical phenomena, and that they depend for their existence upon a physical basis, the temple of materialism will be ablaze

with glory, and the assumed objective of the Gospel, the human soul, will be proved to have never had an existence.

In thinking of God and mind and life we should first think away from them every property that belongs to matter, and then from their phenomena invest them with attributes which are wholly their own. We can form as clear a conception of God as a spirit, of mind as a thinking intelligence, and of life as the matter-organizing agent of nature, as we can of the material atom. The smallness of the atom is as inconceivable as is the vastness of space. We conceive the atom to be a real existence, an x whose value is but partially known, placed by its littleness as fully beyond the reach of our sense organs as are the souls of the antediluvians; yet the chemist cannot get along without it. What mind is to the living body as an explanation of the phenomenon of thought the sixty-five different kinds of atoms are in chemistry to the properties of different compound bodies. If we deny individuality and substance to life because it is intangible, why not repudiate for the same reason the atomic entities of the chemist, and even the mind of man? In searching for life, in protoplasm or any other material substance, and by physical methods, as, for instance, through microchemistry, we assume in thought at the start that life is material; and all our failures to find it go to prove that the vital world is not matter, but that it is a different and an independent, self-centered existence, having a nature and properties wholly its own.

Professor Conn uses the expression "vital force" as if it were a substantive entity—as if it did things on its own account; but we cannot conceive of the existence of force with nothing to exert it. We find also the expression "life essence." Does he mean that in creation God gave existence to vital entities as a part of his works and correlated them to a few kinds of matter, which they work into organic structures? If so, we are with him, head and heart. He speaks of "live matter." Pardon us for thinking there is no such matter. Matter should never in science be designated as either dead or alive. Oxygen can be associated with life, and yet it is not on that account any more alive itself than when united with hydrogen in the form of water. Nor can we properly speak of a thing as dead if it were never alive. The diversity of organic structures, animal and vegetable, which adorn our earth and seas, indicates that the vital world is infinitely rich in the varieties, orders, and kinds which God "in the beginning" created.

H. H. Moore.

De Funiak Springs, Fla.

THE QUESTION OF "ZENANA BAPTISMS."

In the article on the above subject by Mr. W. A. Carver in the "Arena" of the March *Review* there were some good things which we desire to commend. Yet it seems to us that one very important suggestion, which has been discussed, "*pro* and *con*," in many of our Church papers, was left untouched. There can be no doubt in the minds of all thinking Christian people in regard to the "irresistibility of Christianity;" we have only to look at the facts of its history to find this truth. Neither can we doubt

that the customs and beliefs of paganism must go. Therefore they are not "irresistible." The twenty thousand women in these zenanas who are converts to Christianity are proof of this. Yet it is well to remember that instrumentalities can get in the way and greatly retard the work.

Christianity has destroyed many heathen customs; but she will not overturn the purdah system of India until she rises above tradition and former environment and meets the obstacle in a practical way. Now, we would not ask for "lay baptism," but for special orders. If Bishop Thoburn can be a bishop in India and not elsewhere, why cannot a deaconness ordained for India be given the right to baptize there and not elsewhere? What is the word "deaconness" but the feminine of "deacon?" And does not this imply that she should possess the right to baptize? We believe the Church is morally bound to give converts the privileges of the Gospel. In the early Church such provisions were always made; and the Church will fail in doing its duty to these women of India if it requires them to wait to the "second or third generation" for baptism. Therefore, while it would be perhaps foolishness to seek to destroy at once the long-established custom of the zenana, we believe it would be wisdom in the Church to make the office of deaconness to mean what its correspondent does, and especially so in India; in other words, the ministerial instrumentality to the conversion of these women should carry within themselves the power by authority of the Church to administer the privileges of Christianity to them, or be able to provide the same. This can now only be done in some such way as we have above suggested.

Deep River, Ia. W. B. Marsh.

A MATTER OF PRONUNCIATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

In the March-April number of the *Review*, Mrs. Mary S. Robinson gives, under the title of the "Latest Renaissance," a brief but highly interesting account of the rise of the Bulgarian nation, together with a carefully prepared summary of the history of Bulgaria. The esteemed writer has consulted the best authority on Bulgarian history—Jireçek's *History of the Bulgarians* (*Geschichte der Bulgaren*)—and her brief *résumé* is, on the whole, correct.

It is, however, a matter of regret that she has not paid sufficient attention to the orthography of certain names, especially the titles of the Bulgarian emperors and empresses—*tsars* and *tsarinas*. On page 194 of the *Review*, for example, speaking of the first Bulgarian Christian *tsar*,* she spells the word exactly like the English *car*, which, of course, every American, educated or uneducated, would pronounce as it is spelled, and be altogether misled. Not having the German translation (I have the Russian translation) of Jireçek's *History of the Bulgarians*, I cannot say how that learned author spells the word *tsar;* but, knowing that he is Czech (Bohemian), I would not be surprised at all if he spelled it just as

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* This word, like the German *Kaiser*, is undoubtedly derived from the Greek καῖσαρ and the Latin *Cæsar*. I notice of late that the London *Times* spells the word as given here, and not *czar*, as it is commonly spelled.

Mrs. Robinson does, for the letter *c* in Bohemian has the sound of *ts*, so that in that language *car* would be pronounced *tsar*, though never so in English. Again, on page 197 of the *Review*, speaking of the pillar in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Tirnova, built by John Asen II to commemorate his victories over the Greeks, Mrs. Robinson gives the proud inscription upon this pillar in the following words: "I, John Asen, son of the Great Asen, under God car and autocrat of the Bulgarians," etc. In a footnote on the same page the writer refers to Samuelson's *Bulgaria, Past and Present*, page 177; but on page 179 of that work I find Mr. Samuelson gives a translation of the inscription, in which he renders the Bulgarian emperor's titles more correctly as "czar and autocrat of the Bulgarians." Now the word *czar* is much nearer the Slavic *tsar* than *car* is, and certainly is more intelligible to American readers.

Rustchuk, Bulgaria. S. Thomoff.

PRESCIENCE OR NESCIENCE—WHICH?

The question of the prescience or nescience of God, as advocated by Dr. Miley on the one hand and Dr. McCabe on the other, referred to in the "Arena" of the January *Review*, is a matter of vital importance, and not one to be believed or disbelieved as may suit the notion or whim of the individual considering it. If God did not foreknow, then how could prophets be inspired by him to see events to come, and how could such ample provisions be made for future contingencies as have been arranged? All critics of the foreknowledge of God fail to note that anything foreknown must necessarily come to pass; not that the foreknowledge of the event causes it to come to pass, but that unless it does come to pass it could not have been foreknown. It can be understood that when God decided to make man, though he desired that he should not sin, and did not make him to furnish a basis for the scheme of salvation, he foreknew his whole future, and, knowing this, he could not recede; for how could the future be foreknown that never should exist? There is no injustice, therefore, done the character of God. Having made man a free moral agent and having simply foreseen the manner in which he would act, the foreseeing of events to be performed by him necessitating his creation, in what way could God be responsible for his choice? W. W. W. Wilson.

Port Chester, N. Y.

AN OBJECTION TO DIVINE NESCIENCE.

The advocates of the theory of divine nescience of future contingencies often base their objection to the assumption of divine omniscience on the assertion that to create a race of beings, some of whom God foreknew would fall into eternal condemnation, would be inconsistent with infinite goodness. Is not this objection disposed of by the oft-made reply that to create a race of beings every one of whom, for aught the Creator knew, would fall into perdition, would be at least equally incompatible with mercy and justice? Austin H. Herrick.

Wakefield, Mass.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

NOTES ON HARMAN'S "INTRODUCTION," CHAPTERS VII-X.

THERE is no place where the laws of harmonization must be more observed than in the study of the Pentateuch. As a matter of history it has come down to us as the production of Moses. The precise meaning to be attached to his authorship—that is, how far he employed materials which were within his reach—is a question on which there is a wide difference of opinion. In order to ascertain the probability of the authorship of Moses it is important to notice the attempts to account for the existence of the Pentateuch without acknowledging the accredited view, or what is called the traditional view. This point is brought out by Harman in the discussion of the document hypothesis in the seventh chapter. He calls attention to points of defense of great importance. There is a lack of agreement as to the number of the original documents, but a strict agreement in depriving Moses of any part in the composition. This shows thought tendencies not to be overlooked. Further, he calls attention to the complete change which has taken place among the critics as to which was the fundamental document—the Elohistic or the Jehovistic.

The original ground for the decomposition of the Pentateuch, and especially the Book of Genesis, he justly states to be the employment of the divine names, Elohim and Jehovah. The answer to this is found on page 85, and is threefold, namely, that Moses may have employed the original documents if such there were; that the Pentateuch is uniform in language; and that in Genesis the phraseology does not belong to the ante-Mosaic type. He further answers the objections growing out of the want of order in the Mosaic code and the apparent contradiction in the history. At this point the great principles of harmonization may well be applied, namely, that for purposes of defense it is only necessary to show that the account may be harmonized. This the author attempts in this chapter. If hypothesis be admitted as a ground for the rejection of the Mosaic authorship, it is much more natural to employ it in explanation of the existing narrative. It will be well for the student at this point to fix in his mind the character of the defense on these contested subjects, which will satisfy his judgment as being fully adequate.

"The Unity of the Pentateuch" is the subject of Chapter VIII, which is a strong argument also for the Mosaic authorship. If the Pentateuch is a unit it is probably the work of one author; and if it is the product of one author there is no one to whom it can be assigned with more probability than to the reputed author, Moses.

It has been charged that when Moses is claimed to have written the Pentateuch alphabetical writing did not exist, and that consequently the books under consideration belong to a later age. Harman proves, in the ninth chapter, the existence of alphabetical writing at a very early period, and also the advanced state of the arts and sciences among the Egyptians.

This, if established, is a strong confirmation of the truth of the biblical narrative. In connection with this chapter the student will do well to read the paper on the "Antiquity of Writing" in the department of "Archæology and Biblical Research" in the last *Methodist Review.* The discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets has done much to confirm, indeed, to establish, the position taken by Harman in this chapter.

The tenth chapter, on the internal evidence for the great antiquity of the Pentateuch, is of the utmost importance. It is claimed by some writers that parts, at least, of the Pentateuch were written at a time subsequent to the captivity. Harman takes direct issue with those who uphold the later date of the Pentateuch. The student will do well to notice the precise point in conflict, as the internal evidence is claimed also for the modern school of criticism. That the writers "give unmistakable evidence of the age to which they belong" is a statement which both sides of the controversy will admit. Harman's claim is that many words employed in the Pentateuch in a certain sense are not found in that sense in the later books, and, conversely, that later uses are not found in earlier writings. For example, the Hebrew word translated *darics,* "the name of a Persian coin that came into use after the Babylonian captivity, is found in several places in Ezra and Nehemiah," but not in "the middle books of the Pentateuch." A decided difference is found also in the earlier and later uses of the pronoun הוא and of the preposition לְ. The conclusion of the author is that "the archaisms of the Pentateuch prove something more than its high antiquity," and that "they furnish the most striking proof that the volume of Moses has come down to us in its original form."

PROPRIETIES IN CHURCH SERVICE.

Many able preachers and devoted pastors are prevented from accomplishing all the good possible to them by their failure to appreciate the small proprieties which are so essential to the service in God's house. In the arrangement of the tabernacle and temple service the most exact details were given, and any infringement of them was regarded not only as a mistake, but as a sin. A bishop once spoke with sharp condemnation of a preacher who had gone out of his pulpit several times during the service to attend to matters neglected by him before church.

The preacher is not merely a leader of the devotions of others; he is also a worshiper as well, and should show by his manner that he is a worshiper with his congregation. At the period that Henry Ward Beecher was the popular pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, a clergyman of another denomination was supplying a Congregational church in another part of the city. Among the members of the latter congregation was a man who for many years had been under the ministry of Mr. Beecher. The layman had been, so to speak, educated by Mr. Beecher as to the proprieties of church service, and he said one day to the preacher, "I see that you do not worship with the rest of the congregation." "Why not?" said the preacher. "Because, when the people are singing, I notice

that you are busy looking up your Scripture lessons and attending to other matters pertaining to the service which might better have been done before the service began." The criticism was a just one. Circumstances may occur to prevent it occasionally, but as a rule a preacher should have all such details attended to at the beginning of the services.

Another layman complained of the irreverence with which the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was conducted, referring particularly to the haste with which the bread and wine were passed. Of course, in these matters there are wide diversities of opinion; but anything bordering on undue haste or rudeness should be avoided. Some regard it as much more in harmony with the proprieties of the occasion to make no remarks to the people as they rise from their knees beyond the mere dismissal, "Go in peace." Others indulge in an address to those who have communicated. The writer is of the opinion that such addresses as a rule do not add to the edification of the worshipers. Failure in these little things often injures the usefulness of able and devoted ministers.

EXAMINATIONS IN THE CONFERENCE COURSE.

The Itinerants' Club observes with satisfaction that the committees of several Conferences are utilizing the Summer Schools with great advantage. There has been for many years at Round Lake, within the Troy Conference, a successful Summer School for various departments, including biblical and theological studies, where ample facilities have been offered those choosing to attend. Many have availed themselves of its privileges with profit.

This preliminary statement will explain the following circular which has been issued by the chairman of one of the committees, the Rev. Dr. Brown. The circular is addressed to the members of the fourth year's class, and contains the names of the members of the committees and of the class. We take the liberty of inserting it as an evidence of the progress which is being made in giving efficiency to the course of study prescribed by our Board of Bishops. We understand that all the committees of the Conference are arranging for similar examinations. It is evident that there is a great impulse in this direction throughout the entire Church.

"North Adams, Mass., *May* 22, 1894.

"Dear Brother: Several letters of inquiry as to our Course of Study have reached me thus early in the year. These have been prompted no doubt by the present enlarged and improved course, and by the advanced standard of examination fixed upon at our recent Conference. To answer these questions, and present a few other hints, I make the following suggestions:

"The course is now certainly a rigid one, and covers a wide range. Many of the text-books are the same as those used in our colleges and theological seminaries. Yet it is not so heavy as to render its mastery impossible to the average student if he will begin early and make diligent effort.

"You doubtless feel the need of careful preparation. To aid you in this, and in compliance with the resolutions passed by our Conference,

the Committee, or a part of it, will be in attendance at Round Lake, August 6–18. During this time the members of the Fourth Year Class are invited to meet for study. At the close of the two weeks there will be a written examination on two of the studies, namely, Butler's *Analogy* and Bowne's *Philosophy of Theism.* These examinations, if satisfactory, will be final. (See Minutes, p. 14.) This will enable you to get a portion of your work done early in the year.

"Partially for the convenience of the Committee, but more especially for your own benefit, it has been decided to have the written work required by the Course of Study sent to the following members of the Committee on or before the dates named:

Exegesis	George W. Brown	October 1, 1894.
Essay	M. D. Jump	November 1, 1894.
Sermon	J. W. Thompson	December 1, 1894.
Syllabuses	G. W. Browne	March 1, 1895.

"You will find it to your advantage to be prompt in forwarding these papers. We purposely leave the winter months free. May they be months of spiritual harvesting!

"The exegesis is intended to be an exposition of some portion of Scripture selected by the Committee. It may be a more critical examination of the passage than would be proper for even an expository sermon.

"Your passage for exegesis is Isaiah——

"The essay should be written on some abstract or literary theme, and not be simply a sermon without a text.

"Each syllabus should show that you have carefully read the book named, and are able to present a brief outline giving its scope and gist.

"You will find 'The Itinerants' Club' in the *Methodist Review* suggestive and helpful.

"The writer will be glad to answer such questions as he can, or aid you in any way he may during the year.

"GEORGE W. BROWN, *Chairman.*"

THE PRESERVATION OF MATERIAL.

EDITOR "ITINERANTS' CLUB:" Hoping that the interest in this important work has not yet become extinct, I wish to describe my method. Among the features that led me to adopt the system, the most characteristic is its extreme flexibility. My books are arranged on the shelves according to the following classification:

I. Mathematics I^2 Astronomy; I^3 Physics.
II. Chemistry; II^2 Geology and Palæontology.
III. Zoology; III^2 Botany; III^3 Microscopy.
IV. History; IV^2 Church History; IV^3 Biography.
V. Philosophy; V^2 Theology; V^3 Sermons and Lectures.
VI. Education; VI^2 Fiction, Poetry, etc.
VII. Cyclopedias, Commentaries, etc.; VII^2 Reports and Minutes.
VIII. Periodicals.
  1. Methodist Review.
  2. Educational Review.
  3. The Independent.
  4. North American Review, etc.

Each volume is numbered under this method so that any book or periodical can be indicated in the index or on the margin of another book, by using its generic number followed by its specific number. Thus, I^3 16 is

The Conservation of Energy, by Balfour Stewart. If I desire to refer to page 74 of this book in the index, or elsewhere, I write (I^3 16) 74. Thus a reference is made to any volume and its page, using but little space in the index. (VIII^1, 1894) 208, refers to the *Methodist Review* for 1894, and to Dr. Little's article, "The Chicago Parliament of Religions."

It is almost impossible to allot proper space to various subjects on the pages of blank books. A page, or the part of a page assigned to a certain subject, becomes filled with references, when it becomesnecessary to indicate that the subject is carried to some other page. Or, it is desired to index a new subject and there is not sufficient room for it on the page where it would naturally belong, and consequently it must be placed elsewhere. These difficulties are entirely overcome by using cards, a card for each subject. These cards are arranged alphabetically, and whenever a new subject is indexed its card can be placed in its proper place. Should a card become filled with references the subject can be continued on another card, which will be placed behind the full one. To illustrate, I will make a copy of one of my reference cards:

Day Creative. (*)

(V^{2}17) 302. (V11) 84. (V^{2}22) 245. (II^{2}3) 264.

(II^{2}9) 16. (II^{2}13) 742. (II^{2}1) 348. (V^{2}16) 188, 221.

(VIII^{1}1878) 368. (VIII^{1}1879) 581.

Here are eleven references to ten volumes, as follows: *Systematic Theology*, John Miley, p. 302; *Nature and the Bible*, J. W. Dawson, p. 84; *Christian Theology*, Samuel Wakefield, p. 245; *Elements of Geology*, Joseph Le Conte, p. 264; *Man in Genesis and in Geology*, Joseph P. Thompson, p. 16; *Manual of Geology*, James D. Dana, p. 742; *Elementary Geology*, Edward Hitchcock, p. 348; *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, Henry M. Harman, pp. 188, 221; *Methodist Review*, 1878, p. 368; 1879, p. 581. The star indicates that I have an article taken from a newspaper or magazine and preserved in an envelope labeled "Day Creative." The envelopes are labeled as scraps accumulate and are arranged alphabetically.

As I study I make references on a piece of paper and then copy them on the cards when I have finished that subject. It is very frequently the case that an article will furnish several references, as was true with President J. G. Schurman's article, "What is Philosophy?" in the October, 1893, *Chautauquan*, to which I made some fifteen references. These cards are placed on edge in a box. Between the leading letters of the alphabet I have larger cards marked A, B, C, etc., making it very easy to find any card required. Should I desire to preach a sermon on baptism I would take that card from the box, and thus have before me all the material that I had found up to that time, and in the course of my study any new matter would be indexed for future reference. J. BROWNELL ROGERS.

Conquest, N. Y.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

TELL-EL-HESY.

During the past twenty years the pick and the spade have rendered very valuable service to the archæologist. Having unearthed many an ancient treasure and more than one buried library, they have necessitated the rewriting of the history of several early nations. Very large sums of money have been spent for diggings and explorations in Egypt and Babylonia, though Palestine has been sadly neglected. But the students of biblical archæology have watched with profound interest the excavations which for the past four years have been carried on at Tell-el-Hesy, so much the more interesting since they are really the first thorough and scientific attempt of the kind made in Palestine.

It was a glad day when Professor Flinders Petrie, so successful in his chosen work in the land of the Pharaohs, was prevailed upon to spend a few weeks in southern Palestine, and in April, 1890, to commence operations at the supposed site of ancient Lachish. He was soon satisfied that Tell-el-Hesy had some important disclosures to make. In six short weeks he was compelled to abandon the work, and further excavations were intrusted to J. F. Bliss, M.A., an American educated at Amherst College and, if we are not mistaken, the son of Professor Bliss, of the Protestant (American) College at Beyroot. Professor Petrie's mantle could not have fallen upon a worthier man, for, being acquainted with the language and character of the Arabs and *fellahin*, and an archæologist by nature and from choice, he was thoroughly equipped for the work. Now, after four seasons of digging at this venerable mound, Mr. Bliss gives a detailed account of the excavations in a very interesting illustrated volume, published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. From this we learn that the northeastern part of the mound—about a third of the whole—has been cut down clear to the original soil, and that not a shovelful of the rubbish, wheeled away to the valley below, was allowed to go unnoticed. Thousands of specimens of ancient art were unearthed by Mr. Bliss as the foundation of one city after another was laid bare. At last, having brought to light the ruins of at least eight, and, probably, eleven, cities, the native clay was reached on which was built what is supposed to have been ancient Lachish, of the Amorite period.

The "tell" itself, as was natural, was largest at its base—about one fourth of a mile square. This does not represent the entire city, as is clear from other walls outside the "tell" proper, but rather the citadel, or the most strongly fortified portion. The bases of the cities, beginning with the lowest, or most ancient, were found at a depth of sixty-five, fifty-six, fifty-three, forty-eight, forty-five, thirty-seven, thirty-two, twenty-two, eighteen, eight, and four feet, respectively, from the top of the mound. The age of these several cities cannot be given with absolute certainty; but a comparison of the articles therein buried and similar objects elsewhere

discovered, the age of which has been established beyond controversy, will facilitate the study of the mound's chronology. For example, the pottery found at this place is classified as Amorite, Phœnician, Jewish, and Greek. The Amorite, or pre-Israelitish, was found in City I; the Phœnician, in Cities II, III, and IV; the Jewish, a rude imitation of the Phœnician, was plentiful in Cities V, VI, VII, and VIII; while the polished red and black Greek ware, the same as that at Naukratis, was found along with the Jewish in the last two cities. No pottery was discovered at Tell-el-Hesy which can be as late as the Seleucidan period; in short, it is all pre-Alexandine. Phœnician pottery, just like that of this "tell," has been found in Egypt along with objects which, without doubt, date back to the fifteenth century before Christ and reach down at least through a period of six hundred years, or from 1400 to 800 B. C.

Mr. Bliss proposes to study the articles discovered in the following order: (*a*) the inscribed objects; (*b*) the figured objects; (*c*) the metal tools and weapons; (*d*) the pottery. And from a comparative examination of these he concludes that the following dates cannot be far from correct: City Sub I,* 1700 B. C., or older; City I, 1600; City Sub II, 1550; City II, 1500; City III, 1450; City Sub IV, 1400; City IV, 1300-1100 (?); City V, 1000; City VI, 800; City VII, 500; and City VIII, 400 B. C. Let us briefly consider these cities in the order indicated.

In City Sub I was found, in good state of preservation, the foundation of what must have been a tower fifty-six by twenty-eight feet in area. Its massive walls, some ten feet thick, were built, as were indeed most of the walls throughout the "tell," of sun-dried bricks of reddish-yellow clay, full of straw. This town must have been an ancient fortress of the powerful Amorites, whose cities, according to Deut. i, 28, were great and fenced up to heaven. The solidity of such a wall is explained by the fact that Tell-el-Hesy must have been very close to the direct road over which the kings of Egypt, from the time of Thothmes I, led their invading armies north. We learn from the Egyptian monuments that several of the monarchs of that country waged war on Palestine in pre-Israelitish times, and also that the Amorites were famous for their massive walls and fortified cities. The Assyrian monuments likewise bear witness to the strength of Lachish centuries later, when attacked by Sennacherib. Joshua also captured this stronghold of the Amorites. It is not wonderful, therefore, since Lachish was on the highway of the nations, that it was taken and destroyed time and again in the great wars between rival kings.

In City I was discovered the foundation of a house which had succumbed to fire and was filled with ashes. In and around this were found various objects in bronze, such as spear heads, knives, etc., which differ so much from the tools and weapons discovered elsewhere as to suggest a local civilization. Here also were unearthed a wooden seal, fragments of pottery, and a small bronze figure, probably an image of some god.

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* The term "sub city" is explained by the following note: "The great city wall on City I shows at least two rebuildings. I shall call the original structure City Sub I, and the rebuildings, City I."

Neither has the pottery any affinity with the Egyptian or Phœnician wares, and for that reason it is called by Mr. Bliss Amorite pottery, by which he understands the well-marked type of pre-Israelitish ware, "the earliest use of which we cannot fix, but which went out as a prevailing type in the sixteenth century B. C., though specimens of it are found later." The different kinds of pottery in Cities I and II is very noticeable, pointing clearly to a long interval and a change of occupation. The style of pottery found here will aid greatly in determining the chronology of the "tells" and ruins of the Holy Land in the future.

Seventeen feet above City Sub I brings us to the fourth layer of ruins, or City II. Its destruction must have been very complete. Nothing remains except the bare foundations. It was razed to the very ground, which is clear from the fact that there were no signs of doors left, as in several other ruins. The most remarkable thing found here was a circular structure, with walls two feet thick and an inside diameter of more than seven feet. In the walls were flues connecting with the bottom of the structure. Mr. Bliss was at first inclined to regard this as a blast furnace for iron; but as the structure could not have been built later than 1400 B. C., and as no iron tools of any kind dating farther back than 900 B. C. have been discovered in any country, it is not probable that it was used for smelting iron ores. This is rendered the more certain from the fact that no iron implements were found at this level, though discovered in abundance higher up in the "tell."

Forty-five feet from the top of the "tell" is City III. On its north side is a massive wall seventeen feet in thickness, against which abut a series of rooms with walls still standing three feet above the ground, thus showing clearly the openings from one room to the other. Though this building was in excellent state of preservation, no articles of any interest were found therein. However, just outside was picked up one of the most interesting objects ever discovered in Palestine. It was a tablet of burnt clay in cuneiform script, of the same age, character, and language as those written from southern Canaan to the rulers of Egypt and found at Tel-el-Amarna. Zimrida, or Zimridi, known to us already from the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence as the governor of Lachish, is twice mentioned in this brick letter. A similar tablet has since been found near Gaza. The discovery of these two tablets encourages us in the hope that there may be many like them, if not in the remaining two thirds of this mound, yet in other ruins in various parts of Palestine. And now, since the Turkish government has just granted a firman to the Palestine Exploration Fund to carry on excavations for two years in Jerusalem, since the age of railroad building has commenced in Palestine, and since many new structures are being erected, we may reasonably expect important finds in the near future. The age of this tablet is further confirmed by the fact that nothing later than the eighteenth dynasty was found at this level, while several scarabs of that period were picked up. One of them bears the name of "Amen-Ra," another, "The good son of Amen-Ra," while a third has the cartouche of Queen Thi. Here also were found very fine specimens of pottery, different

from anything else in the mound and equal to the finest Egyptian pottery of the Tel-el-Amarna period.

Between the ruins of Cities III and IV was a bed of ashes from three to seven feet in thickness, extending over the entire area of the excavation. The origin of these ashes is a problem yet unsolved. In a house built upon them were picked up two bronze objects, one about four inches long, supposed to be a figure of Ptah, the other a statuette of a goat with two kids, and near them was a rude female figure made of clay. It has been suggested that these might have been household gods such as Rachel carried away from her father Laban.

In City Sub IV were found two ancient wine presses and caldrons for boiling the juice of the grape into sirup. About midway down the "tell," in City IV, were unearthed the foundations of a very large structure. It is fifty-six feet square, and very symmetrical. This is the only building in the entire mound which shows any architectural pretensions. Among other things we find rude carvings of animals on one of the doorjambs and a pilaster in bas-relief which ends in a volute. This suggests to Dr. Petrie "the horns of the altar" in ancient temples. The objects discovered at this level were very numerous, consisting of spear heads, knives, borers, tweezers, rings, etc., in bronze, besides a goodly number of articles in bone, alabaster, and stone. There were also not less than eight scarabs with hieroglyphs, as well as several cylinders. Among the pottery, which was very abundant, varied, and highly ornamented, was found a fragment of a plate with three Phœnician letters, which are said to correspond to the Hebrew בלע, *swallow*, "an appropriate legend for a dish." Not far from this was picked up a jar handle bearing the inscription, "The palace of Ra-aa-Khepheru."

Some ten feet higher in the "tell" are the ruins of City V, the rudest of all the foundations. Here we find a large number of stones at irregular distances from one another. Now, as City VI was only four feet higher, it is almost certain that it was built soon after the destruction of City V, and that all the material which could be utilized was employed in the construction of the new town.

The deep accumulation of rubbish between Cities VI and VII shows that a long period had elapsed between the destruction of these two. The ruins of the latter bear the marks of a great conflagration, which, judging from the greasy appearance of the pottery found here, originated in the oils stored in this part of the "tell." Many pits were seen at this level, not only such as were used for ovens, but larger ones, which served as granaries or places to store various articles. These pits must have belonged to the city above, as they extended ten feet or more into the ground. Such grain pits are still common in many parts of Syria. A few grains of different cereals were found in several of them.

Just four feet from the surface of the mound were the imperfect foundations of City VIII, the last built upon this site. So thorough was the destruction here that scarcely anything more than some oven pits remained to testify that human beings had ever lived upon the spot.

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MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE STATE OF HINDOO MORALS AS SHOWN BY HINDOO SACRED LITERATURE.

The question of morals, as treated in Christian and non-Christian religious literatures, is one that has of late been forcing itself afresh to the front. The study of the religions of the world is increasing in many parts of the heathen world, as well as among Christian peoples. Western scholarship has made known to the people of India their sacred literature, which has for many years been buried from them because only extant in what is to them, as well as to others, a dead language. Thousands of Hindoos are learning now for the first time, by translations made by Christian scholars, what their sacred books really teach. Professor Max Müller has edited, in English, quite a library of the Asiatic religious literatures, under the title of the "Sacred Books of the East." It has, however, been necessarily but an incomplete rendition of those literatures. The *Vedas* are the foundation of all the religious authority of the Hindoos, all else, even the voluminous *Puranas*, being but commentary upon them. Of the *Vedas* there are four, the *Rig-Veda* being the most authoritative. From his edition of the *Vedas* Professor Müller has entirely omitted the *Yajur-Veda*. He has been criticised for this omission, and his defense is that, had he printed it, he would have been liable to prosecution for the circulation of obscene literature. It is well known in the East that this statement is within the facts. The most sacred sacrifice of the Hindoos is described in the *Yajur-Veda*. The High Court of Bombay has declared that it is a criminal offense to translate this ceremony into the living languages of India; and these include a large proportion of the spoken languages of the world. Weber declares this sacrifice to be a "revolting ceremony." But Professor Müller has not only omitted the *Yajur-Veda;* he has printed an expurgated edition of other parts of this literature. In reading his rendition of the hymns of the *Veda* we obtain no idea of the *Veda's* moral character. A writer in the organ of the Christian Literature Society of India, *The Dawn in India*, says that scholars affirm passages of the *Rig-Veda* itself to be "abominable, filthy, and obscene." The brunt of the criticism against Professor Müller does not, however, consist in his failure to publish all these passages, but in that he does not indicate that there have been omissions, and the places where these omissions occur. The emendation is certainly according to the social as well as the legal requirements of Christian communities; but when the part is put for the whole, and the omissions are of so grossly immoral color that they cannot be reproduced, it gives a false presentation of the sacred books to English and Christian readers, and also has a tendency to make the "heathen in his blindness" think the religion he professes a much purer one than it really is. It moreover disables the student, seeking to ascertain the comparative merits of religious systems,

from performing his task fully unless he can pursue it in the Sanskrit, which is a dead language. A great deal of the objection, perhaps all of it, might have been removed if the editor had frankly stated that he had omitted large sections of the original, since such sections would be indecent reading, and their circulation was therefore legally prohibited. In other words, Professor Müller might better have made the same explanation in the volumes themselves that is now wrenched from him in the public prints.

HAWAII, PAST AND PRESENT.

Missionary work in the Sandwich Islands is undergoing investigation under unfortunate conditions. These islands have been thrown for the time into political excitement, and missionary work is being discussed in the heat of partisan strife. Friends of missions will endeavor to make a dispassionate judgment; and it may help them to do so if they bear in mind several things which we now bring to their notice:

1. Seventy-four years ago these islanders were naked, besotted idolators, with little but superstitious notions in the form of religious belief, and well-nigh absolutely without any ideas of morality. They were without moral restraints of any kind. The grossest sins were of everyday occurrence. Chastity was an unknown and an unthought-of virtue. To all this lawless and debased condition the white foreigner was adding other vices peculiarly his own.

2. The missionaries entered at this juncture and erected schools and churches. Eighteen years after they began their labors a great revival commenced, which in five years swept into the Church twenty-seven thousand persons. The twenty succeeding years saw on the average an addition each year of a thousand converts more. The indirect political results were a liberal constitution granted by the king, and land grants in severalty.

3. But there came new conditions. The development of the sugar industry demanded cheap labor, and it was imported from heathen countries. In 1860 there was but one foreigner on the island to every twenty-five natives. By 1884 only a trifle less than one half of the population was foreign. By 1887 twenty thousand unmarried heathen had been imported from China, and this was superimposed upon a small population of say eighty thousand persons, men, women, and children. The results were manifest in many ways. The constitution was changed, restoring an almost absolute monarchy. Kalakaua, a dissolute man in every respect, came to the throne and lent his power to an attempt to revive the old paganism; and the indecent *hula* orgies were reinstituted, with headquarters in the royal palace itself. The prohibitory liquor laws were repealed, under pressure from the sugar interest, thus submitting the natives to the destructive influence of poisonous (Christian ?) intoxicants; and in 1887 a law went into effect licensing the sale of opium. It is little wonder that under these untoward circumstances the native races have rapidly declined in numbers as well as in morals. There were already decadent forces at

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work, however, when the missionaries arrived on the islands, if the statistics given can be relied upon. In 1778 Captain Cook estimated the population at 400,000; but in 1820, when the missionaries arrived, the estimate was but 140,000. The natives now number only about 36,000. It is a wonder that the little native community survives at all, overlaid, as it is, with the *débris* of a most immoral and unnatural alluvial, in the form of heathen Asiatics, equal in number to the total of the native male population of the islands.

4. Dr. Fisher, editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, reminds us that between 1820 and 1845 sixty missionaries were sent to these islands, but that no missionary family has gone thither within the last fifty years. It is, he says, thirty years since Hawaii was a "mission field;" and nearly all the missionaries sent thither are dead. But sixty thousand natives have in the past seventy-three years espoused Christ, and united with the Church. Of this number it is believed that a large proportion have died in the hope of a blessed resurrection.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF CAPE COLONY, AFRICA.

The Cape Colony is a political division of the Cape of Good Hope region in South Africa, and has been supposed by many to be thoroughly evangelized and mostly Christianized. But the census for 1891 reveals a state of things which will surprise many persons who supposed themselves quite familiar with the facts in the case. The truth appears to be that nearly two thirds of the Negro, or rather the colored, population, and about one half of the total population are still non-Christian. Of 1,150,237 in the colored population only 392,562 were returned as having classified themselves as Christians. This colored population consisted of Kaffirs and Bechuanas, 608,456; Fingus, 229,680; Hottentots, 50,388; Malays, 13,907; and of mixed races, 247,806. The Malays live mainly in Cape Town.

The religious classification was as follows: heathens, or "of no religion," 753,824; Mohammedans, mostly Malays, 15,099; Jews, 3,009; and Christians, 749,322, of whom 356,960 were white and 392,362 were colored. Of the Christians, 732,047 were Protestants and 17,275 Roman Catholics. Of the latter, 14,800 were whites, leaving to the Romanists but 2,475 natives. Of the Protestants, the Dutch Reformed Church had 306,320 and the Church of England 139,058. The next largest communion was that of the Wesleyans, who numbered 106,132, besides 5,390 "other Methodists."

THE OUTLOOK IN JAPAN.

The *Japan Mail* recently contained an article which affirmed that it was a great mistake to suppose that Christianity had gained acceptance only among the ignorant and lowly in that country. Forty per cent of the Christians belong to the intellectual class, the *shizoku*. A single congregation is said to contain two persons holding office directly from the emperor, and twelve who hold appointments from the Council of State

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with the sanction of the emperor. Twelve members and the speaker of the first Japan Diet were Christians. But Japan is not a Jericho already taken by blowing rams' horns. She will yet be captured, after a steady, brave siege, by means of the sword of the Spirit; but the hope of gaining her to Christianity with a rush must be abandoned. The period of missionary activity, from 1872, when the Methodist Episcopal Church entered Japan, down to within a recent period, coincided with the movement of the Japanese mind toward everything Western, whether of language, politics, armaments, systems of post offices and telegraphs, or dress. The progress has been astonishing, and affords hope of still greater advance. A hundred and fifty thousand additions to the Christian adherents in two decades from the beginning are not to be despised, however small this may seem relatively to forty millions or so of the total population. But with the popular tide setting against everything foreign the Church will have occasion to prepare for the real contest. Ultimate victory is assured, as Japan can never swing back to its old condition, and it is not likely to discover anything more suited than Christianity to aid it in taking the place in the family of nations for which it longs. In 1872 there were 20 church members; in 1875, 538; in 1876, 1,004; in 1883, 2,500, with a Christian community of 13,000; in 1891, 33,390 adult church members. At present the work is embarrassed by many obstacles, and converts are being tested. But the work is not slackened, nor are the witnesses losing steadfastness. This "Great Britain," or rather this "Younger America," of the Pacific seas is bound to advance, and it can be but in one direction—toward the Christian communities of the world.

Rev. J. Vahl, President of the Danish Missionary Society, has earned the reputation of being one of the most reliable of missionary statisticians, and his figures are quoted with more than average confidence. His tables showing the present missionary revenue and forces of the world will be acceptable to ministers and others interested in religious progress. They do not convey all the information that might be desired, but are on the whole as satisfactory as they could well be made. The societies use different methods of tabulation, and hence the difficulty of securing uniformity in a comparative statement. Mr. Vahl omits the wives of missionaries from his enumeration, while many, if not most, of the societies enter them as at least "assistant missionaries." He gives the gross income of all the societies, in British money, as £2,749,340, which may be roundly reckoned as $13,746,700. The male missionaries of all classes number 5,094, and the unmarried female missionaries, 2,445—a total of 7,539, who are assumed to have been sent out by missionary societies, or are at least other than natives of the countries where they labor, though on this point there is some obscurity, the classification differing slightly with the accidents of the situation. The native ministers are returned as numbering 3,730; and there are besides 40,438 native helpers. The several missions, in all parts of the world, roll up the encouraging number of 1,168,560 communicants.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Professor Dr. Aug. Klostermann. His ability is universally recognized, and his biblical studies have been very minute and protracted. For twenty years past he has given special attention to Pentateuchal criticism, and is entitled to be heard concerning the subject. In his recent work, *Der Pentateuch. Beiträge zu seinem Verständniss und seiner Entstehungsgeschichte* [The Pentateuch. Contributions to its Understanding and the History of its Origin], he takes issue with the Graf-Wellhausen theory. But on the other hand he can hardly be classed with the conservatives; for he is a firm believer in a process of development which was carried on in accordance with the will of God, by the cooperation of countless factors that never rest, and which has affected the condition of the revelation. He finds that the whole task of Old Testament Scripture criticism is very much complicated by the fact that numerous changes have taken place in the text. He denies the right of the critic to assume the identity of our text with that of the author of the Pentateuch. He thinks it a perversion to make out distinctions of epochs by means of divergences in style, when these divergences are not between different authors, but between different copies of the same author. Thus it will be seen that he does not deny the existence of the marks by which the critics have divided the Pentateuch into diverse documents, but he does deny the necessity of explaining them as the critics do. He regards Deuteronomy as the only sure starting point for critical inquiry into the Pentateuch. Its age is far back of its discovery, as is evident by the impression it made upon contemporaries. Had it not differed from all other known books of Moses it would have passed comparatively unnoticed. Such is his reasoning. But it strikes us that the doubts he casts upon the integrity of the text must be supposed to apply as well to Deuteronomy as to any other portion of the Pentateuch, and that therefore he cannot, on his principles, find even here a sure starting point for criticism. In fact his theory, in this particular, appears more dangerous than any other theory offered by critics. That variations may have crept in might be admitted without damage to the general integrity of the books, but to make these variations so great as to render the text unsafe as a basis for the higher criticism is to exclude all criticism at once. If this left us the certainty of the Mosaic authorship it would not be so bad. But what do we care for this authorship if his text is defaced beyond all recognition?

Dr. G. H. Graue. His views of the relation between morality and religion are so clear, and, in the main, correct, as to deserve mention here. He regards them as substantially distinct. Morality is sentiment and life under the dominion of the moral law. The moral law is the offspring of

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the ideal conception of man, but it enforces its requirements upon the actual man and impels him to the exercise of a true love of humanity. It is a law of freedom, not of compulsion. It is a motive rather than an obligation. It originally appears in consciousness not as the result of ratiocination, but rather as a kind of vague feeling which makes itself felt in impulse and desire. Yet this feeling is not one of pleasure or of pain; it is more like the feeling of awe and reverence. It is possible for man to follow this law, which is a part of his own essential nature, without a consciousness of God or communion with him. In so far a morality without religion is possible. Just so there are religious acts which have no moral purpose. For in religion, one does not, as in morality, enter into relations with the law of his own being, but into relations with a personal power superior to himself. His religious relations with God do not always take the form of a moral relation to the world. On the contrary, his religion often turns him away from men and the world for the very purpose of a more exclusive communion with God. Theoretically this is possible, but if morality is to be victorious it can only be so in the belief in a moral order of the world. Yet this belief can only find a sure support in the religious consciousness. If morality is possible in a degree without a belief in God, it is only found in its highest unfoldings in connection with the Christian religion. In atheistic morality there is wanting a proper humility and an unselfish, new-creating love for mankind. Only the elevation of pious feeling, and especially the experience of the love of God as found in the gospel of Christ, can produce a true and thorough purification from egoism. Very few strictures on the book are in place, and these pertain to minor matters which cannot be touched here. In our remaining space we prefer to commend Graue's defense of Christian morality against the assaults of atheists. He rightly argues that the assistance of religion in morals does not destroy the true autonomy of man, nor a true theonomy produce in the Christian moralist a heteronomy, since man is so constituted that the moral law which springs from his own being is to be considered as a true reflection of the will of God. On this theory theonomy would overpower autonomy only until man was brought back to his normal human condition. While Graue holds that to serve God for the sake of reward would render morality imperfect, the love of God, which is the true Christian motive, aids true morality, and hence is superior to atheistic ethics.

Professor Dr. Theodor Häring. In years gone by he has given much attention to doctrinal subjects, and especially to the doctrine of reconciliation. His views are as follows: The fundamental religious fact of reconciliation is that through Jesus Christ we are led from the profound consciousness of sin to fellowship with God. In this process lies both the condemnation of sin and grace for the sinner. By his personal life work Jesus Christ produces both in us. And this personal life work is completed only when, in his death and resurrection, the result designed is accomplished. These are the fundamental elements of the doctrine of reconcili-

ation as they are found in the New Testament. In working these out into a dogmatic formula there are two ideas which, without difficulty, obtain recognition as decisive. They are the ideas of the relation of God to us, and that of the representation of a man before God, both of them, of course, through Jesus Christ. But, since it is a question of religion, the thought of revelation must unquestionably take the leading place. Christ's representation of men before God springs out of the true conception of revelation. Revelation does not take place by the impartation of instruction, but by the personal work of Jesus. In his own love he revealed the love of God. The full revelation of love as love could only take place in his death, and the full revelation of love as the power which overcomes the world could only take place in his resurrection. Since revelation is wrought by his personal work it could be done in no other way than by his voluntary consent to the loving will of God, even to the death of the cross. This had value in God's sight as the necessary means for the accomplishment of his purpose among men. But in thus entering upon death Christ represented us, since in him God found the human will open to his appeals, whereas sinners resist. The consequence is that we are preserved from hopelessness and from undue pride alike, since our faith, without which indeed we cannot be saved, is in no wise fundamental to salvation; because the perfect faith which made possible the fulfillment of God's loving purpose was found only in Christ. In the death of Christ at the hand of sinners men can see the full significance of human sin; and thereby is proved the permanency of the purpose of good. Jesus Christ, in thus taking up the will of the Father into his own will, suffered death for the good of men and in their stead, and also represented man before God. We see in this the doctrine of vicarious suffering. But it does not seem so clearly nor so reasonably put as it might be were it disconnected from the thought of revelation. The death of Christ had the two aspects of revelation and representation. Why not give each its due place?

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Die Christliche Ethik in ihrem Verhältniss zur modernen Ethik" (Christian Ethics in Relation to Modern Ethics). By Carl Stange. This book contains a keen criticism of the religionless ethics of Paulsen, Wundt, and von Hartmann. The author attempts to show the fundamental weakness of these systems, and the value of the Christian view for the scientific and practical confirmation and establishment of ethics. He confines himself to the principles involved in the systems of the three above-named philosophical ethicists, and does not discuss the details. To his mind they mutually complement each other, so that what is lacking in Paulsen is furnished by Wundt, and what is wanting in Wundt is made up by von Hartmann. Paulsen represents that utilitarianism which sets up as the ethical ideal the welfare of the community as "an objective conformation of life in the sense of human perfection." In this system the highest

good is the normal exercise and development of the natural functions of life, together with the capabilities and powers of man. This utilitarianism is to be distinguished from a purely subjective eudemonism which thinks of human welfare as alone a subjective feeling of delight or pleasure. But Stange holds that it leads even beyond subjective eudemonism, in making, not individual feelings of pleasure the last end of morality, but a general condition of pleasure. Man as a subjective individual is the object of all ethical actions. To this form of utilitarianism the evolutionary principle of Wundt, according to which the worth of all existence is found in the actual development of the ethical-spiritual life, appears as a higher step. The first object of morality is here represented as the development of civilization, the production and enhancement of objective spiritual values; the final object as the development of all spiritual powers in the direction in which, from the beginning of moral existence, they have actually developed, but going indefinitely beyond any goal already attained. A still higher standpoint is the transcendental-negative of von Hartmann. But as Wundt's ideal can only be attained and indeed conceived in the light of religion, so von Hartmann's negative principle is incapable of impelling to positive ethical conduct. Nor can his pantheistic idea of the essential identity of all beings furnish a sufficient ethical principle. On the other hand, the transcendental-positive principle of Christian theism leads to a satisfactory foundation for ethics. God as a perfect personality has a purpose. This purpose is to produce human personalities in the image of God. The ideal of Christian ethics is a perfect community of these human personalities; that is, the kingdom of God. This ideal is a real motive to positive ethical endeavor. The great fault of the book is that it does not develop with sufficient fullness the superiority and sufficiency of the Christian ideal and motive.

"Die Ignatianische Briefe, auf ihren Ursprung untersucht" (The Ignatian Epistles Investigated with Reference to their Origin). By Professor Daniel Völter. To all students of early Church history the Ignatian letters have an intrinsic interest. In addition to this, this book has an interest as affording an example of the application of the principles of higher criticism to noncanonical literature. Of the seven generally accepted letters Völter recognizes the genuineness of but six. But even these are not the product of the pen of Ignatius, who died the martyr's death in Antioch in A. D. 115 or 116, but of Peregrinus Proteus, in the Christian period of his life, and before he became a Cynic (between A. D. 140 and 155). The name of Ignatius was placed at the beginning of these letters without good reason. This hypothesis is internally improbable in the highest degree, and is further refuted by every literary-historical consideration. While attributing the authorship of six of these Ignatian Epistles to Peregrinus, he denies it of the seventh (that to the Romans), and makes it a forgery, having for its object to describe a genuine martyr-bishop and thereby to gain an advantage over Montanism toward the end of the second century. It is a curious fact that although Renan sepa-

rated the letter to the Romans from the other six, as Völter does, he reversed the order, making the letter to the Romans genuine and the other six spurious. Harnack calls attention to the fact that while the six were written to Asiatics the seventh was to Rome; and that his knowledge of the former and ignorance of the latter would render it certain that there should be a difference in his manner of writing. But he denies any such wide divergence as Völter affirms. Völter declares that it was an important matter to the forger to make Ignatius name himself as a bishop, and that this is the reason why he is represented as designating himself so only in the letter to the Romans. But the episcopacy of Ignatius is only mentioned twice in this epistle, and in both cases it is demanded or at least explicable by the context. A twofold incidental mention of his episcopacy would not indicate any very great importance in the mind of the alleged forger. Völter is fond of finding small faults and furnishing small explanations. He points out the absence of personal notices in the Roman letter, with the exception of one, which is somewhat unclear—the mention of Krokus—and suggests that in order not to omit all names the forger had taken this one capriciously from the letter to the Ephesians. Harnack administers a well-deserved rebuke by asking him whether it had never occurred to him how much mischief such "critical" attempts had wrought in the understanding of early Christian literature.

Jesus and the Working Classes, as Seen by a Labor Agitator. Not only is Holland the home of the most extreme criticism of the New Testament, but it is the source from which a great movement has gone out to employ the Bible, and especially the life of Jesus Christ, in the interest of labor. It originated with Domela Nieuwenhuis, who has written works on both the Bible and Christ from the labor standpoint. He undoubtedly gives expression to the general sentiment among socialists of the European type. What he has to say in criticism is directed rather against the record than against Christ himself. True, he denies Christ the honor of originality, attributes to Buddhism an influence on the teachings of our Lord, degrades the Golden Rule to a level with the teachings of Hillel and Confucius, but in the main he, like Pilate, finds in him no fault at all. On the contrary, he admits that Jesus attracts him by his love, his heartfelt pity for all the sorrowing and suffering, his truthfulness which everywhere and without fear attacked all shams and enforced the value of thought and conviction, and by the elevation of his thoughts and the powerful and popular style of his preaching. He even speaks of his love for Jesus, and he has no patience with those who attack him because of the faults of his Church. To him, indeed, Jesus is a socialist of the ancient time, who hated the rich, and would not allow that they could enter into the kingdom of heaven; who preferred the society of the poor, the publican, and the sinner; who was a leader of a rebellion whose object was to overturn completely all existing conditions. He thinks that Matt. vii, 12, contains in principle the whole system of socialism, since what man chiefly desires for himself is food and drink, and hence man

ought to be principally concerned in providing this for others. It is evident that the author intended to treat his theme with a show of learning which he did not possess. It is equally evident that he has found everything in the life of Christ which could give support to the methods employed by European socialists—hatred of wealth, the right to agitate, and even to rebel. Perhaps he is not to be censured for this. But it is to be regretted that he has written solely from the standpoint of a partisan. And still more to be regretted is the fact that he did not more emphasize the spirit which was in Christ as the example for all men, the laboring classes included, to imitate. And yet perhaps he is not to be too severely criticised. For have not ministers of the Gospel steadily through all the centuries overlooked important phases of the life and character of Christ, and applications of his principles to great classes of mankind, while they emphasized almost exclusively such facts as fell within the line of their vision? But what a concession is this appeal to Christ on the part of labor agitators! It practically admits his power even though they could wish it otherwise. And surely it confirms the faith of all Christians, who have felt from the first dawn of the agitation down to the present time, that the principles of Jesus Christ alone could settle the questions involved. The duty is forced upon us by the appearance of such publications to preach Christ in all his fullness. Jesus may not be left to be preached to the laboring classes in such a way as to further socialistic agitation without the whole truth being also taught. While the gospel of salvation from sin is being proclaimed the gospel of salvation from temporal evil must also be preached. Men must be taught that rich and poor are alike to be governed by the Spirit of Christ in their dealings with their fellow-men. The manner in which Nieuwenhuis speaks of Christ shows that Jesus, when presented as he is in the gospels, influences even those who have hitherto cared nothing for him. This is an admonition to the preacher to preach him thus, and not merely with reference to the doctrinal significance of his life and death. It is a suggestion to all who love mankind to scatter copies of the gospels, either singly or combined, or bound together with the epistles, far and wide. The masses of the people are not in the churches. It is not necessary here to ask why; but it is necessary that the people be won to Christ whether they be won to the Church or not. And it is exceedingly important that Christians live in such a way that the contrast between Church life and the life of Christ as portrayed in the gospels be not too great. Thousands and thousands of copies of the work here mentioned are being sold in continental Europe. It is true that to many the enjoyment of the book may be in its destructive tendencies. But it is also an evidence that the working classes are interested in the teachings and example of Christ, and would read what is written from the true standpoint, and hear what is spoken in a right spirit concerning this phase of Christ's life and work. The time has come when two separate organizations should be no longer needed—one to preach the gospel of salvation from sin, and another to show them that Jesus is the friend of the poor and of all who are in

need. All this can be done and ought to be done by the one Church of Jesus Christ, which should care both for the souls and bodies of men.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The School Question in Germany. There is in Germany a class of schools known as the *Fortbildungsschulen;* that is, schools in which the education of the young people who have been confirmed in the churches is carried forward. Most of these boys and girls leave school as soon as the law allows, namely, at confirmation, and enter upon some kind of employment which stands in the way of further education through the ordinary channels. These advanced schools must therefore be held at a time when attendance is possible. Heretofore Sunday forenoon has been devoted to this purpose. This, however, interferes with attendance upon the regular divine services at ten o'clock. The law provides that after the first of October of this year these schools must not be allowed to continue during the hour of the forenoon service. This cuts out an hour and a half from the forenoon, and makes a rearrangement necessary. The propositions which are brought forward to overcome the difficulty illustrate the hold these schools have upon the affections of the people, and also the state of Sabbath-keeping sentiment among the Germans. One of these propositions is to have these schools on week day afternoons once or twice a week. It is the only one which has been offered in the interest of Sabbath-keeping. But it is agreed on all sides that it would be impossible to find teachers at that time, to say nothing of a place. Sunday afternoon has been proposed, but this is the one German half-holiday, and it cannot be given up. And besides, there is the difficulty of finding a preacher to conduct the religious services which are supposed to accompany the school session. Even the Social-Democrats are opposed to this proposition. The only other possibility is to allow the schools to go on, for a time, at least, as heretofore, during the hours of divine service, and to provide for a half hour's religious service in connection with them, conducted by a clergyman in his gown, so as to make it as far as possible take the place of the regular service. The coolness with which the Church people of Germany discuss the proposition to use God's day and the hour of public service in the interest of secular education, and the zeal they manifest at the same time in maintaining the necessity of divine worship in these Sunday secular schools, is an astonishment to an American. But our friends should take notice who think that to do away with the stringency of the commandment will lead to better Sabbath-keeping. The difference between the sentiment there and the sentiment among Christians here is just the difference between a theory which left men free to keep the Sabbath if they would and one which made it obligatory upon all whether they would or not.

Proposed Change in the Swedish Marriage Ceremony. The words requiring the wife to obey her husband are not contained in the marriage

ceremony. It was proposed that these words should be inserted, and the proper steps were taken to bring it about. But when the matter was brought to the final decision before the Swedish Church Assembly last October it was rejected by a vote of 27 to 25. In the discussion it was declared that the passage of Scripture upon which the demand for the change was founded could be matched by others which as emphatically asserted the perfect equality of husband and wife. Another argument used against the measure was that many debased husbands would make it the excuse for great cruelty to their wives. Among the people generally there was bitter opposition to the innovation.

The Johannean School of Evangelists in Barmen. The wide acquaintance of Professor Dr. Christlieb with ecclesiastical affairs in England and America led him to the founding of this school, originally at Bonn. Its purpose, as its name indicates, is to train men for evangelistic work. At the present time there are seventeen pupils in the three classes. The institution is under the control of an inspector and two assistants, one of whom is a son of the late Dr. Christlieb. Pastor Cörper also gives an hour each week to the practical exposition of Paul's letters to Timothy. and other earnest pastors assist as they have opportunity. At the end of the three years' course these young men are not sent out under the pay of the institute, but wait until they are called into the evangelistic or city missionary work. Up to this time there has been no difficulty in finding employment for all the graduates. At the present time there are twelve of them thus engaged in Germany. It is a significant fact that there should be so much demand in Germany for evangelists. It would appear that Methodism will have accomplished, as everywhere, so in Germany, a greater work in awakening the other Churches than in gathering members into her own fold.

A New Temperance Movement in Switzerland. In the canton of St. Gall a law has been proposed according to which persons who have given themselves up to drunkenness are to be confined in an asylum for inebriates for a period of from nine to eighteen months, and in cases of relapse for a still longer period. This manner of handling the drunkard goes upon the supposition that he is diseased, not criminal. It provides, as will be seen, for a stay in the asylum of sufficiently long duration that the victim may be as it were recreated. But that drunkenness is more than a disease is evident from the fact that it is proposed to deal with the drunkard on entirely different principles from those applied to the victims of other diseases. There are multitudes of people who are periodically, or at least, frequently, the victims of "colds." Yet no one thinks of depriving them of their liberty on that account. This law rightly proceeds upon the (suppressed) fact that the moral element enters into the problem also. It is a disease which has so much of the moral element in it that the victim can prevent its recurrence by the exercise of his will, and especially by the acquisition of divine grace.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

For the reader of current periodicals there are dark shadows upon the pages which chronicle the world's progress. Man has not yet learned the richest meaning of the golden rule or risen to its fullest practice. Social wrongs still remain to be righted; gross inequalities are yet to be adjusted; and the tyranny of sudden aristocrats over their humbler brethren waits to be rebuked at the judgment seat of the nations. But in the very record of these existing evils, and in their caustic condemnation by heroes as fearless as the Baptist, there is hope for the purging of this Christian civilization. The voice of Abel's blood cries from the ground. Retribution is the logical outcome of oppression. The world hastens fast toward the emancipation of the last serf, the restriction of social iniquities, and the dawn of a better day of brotherhood.

Prominent among the articles descriptive of existing national evils is that of Frederic Perry Noble, secretary of the Chicago Congress on Africa, in the *Missionary Review of the World* for June, entitled "Christendom's Rum Trade with Africa: A Modern Devil's Mission." The enormities of this evil seem too great for credence. "Since England entered Egypt," says the writer, "drinking and the liquor traffic have terribly increased, till the natives even one thousand miles up the Nile are demoralized. In Tunis most shameless drunkenness rules among the Moslems. In Algiers and Morocco matters are little better. Senegambia suffers severely. Sierra Leone has had to plead for the prohibition of the import of low-grade trade spirits. Along the West Coast the Negro has for generations seen the ocean-cast powder keg, rum cask, and demijohns along his strand. From Boston, Liverpool, Hamburg, and Holland flow these streams of liquid damnation. Since 1882 one hundred million gallons of spirits have poured into Africa. For hundreds of miles into the interior the square-shouldered bottles are as well known as the usual currency of beads and wire." The protests of explorers like Stanley go for naught, who has declared, "If it depended on me I would have no more to do with rum than with poison." Missionary work is hampered, and, in the words of Joseph Thomson, "for every African influenced for good by Christianity one thousand are driven into deeper degradation by the gin trade." Commerce and civilization are impeded; and in spite of the Berlin Congress of 1885, when "America, England, France, and Italy endeavored to dam drink out from the new world of Central Africa," the liquor dealers of Germany, Holland, and Portugal, insisting on "free rum in the Congo basin, because it is consecrated to free trade," yet trample upon the Christian sentiment of the nations and industriously ply their hellish traffic. Truly, Ethiopia stretches out her hands to the world for liberation from a thralldom unspeakably worse than traffic in the bodies of her people!

The next scene in the drama of human suffering is laid at our very doors.

In the *Catholic World* for June is an article by John J. O'Shea, on "The White Slave Trade." His words cut like a scimeter! After describing the main floors of our leviathan dry-goods stores he speaks of the basement crush and heat which one will recognize as but too true to life. "There," he writes, "the crowds are denser, because the articles sold are more varied, and such as are indispensable in every household. The narrow passages are in one long state of congestion; the temperature is about 20 degrees higher than that overhead, for there is no current of air from the street level; the ceiling is several feet lower. The daylight is so scanty here that the electric light or the gas is constantly kept burning; the air is stifling, the turmoil incessant. Heaven help the miserable heads which are doomed to bear it all the day long, all the night long, too, very often until midnight! With the thermometer at 95 degrees on the ground floor—a very moderate standard for a New York summer afternoon—it is not easy to imagine the condition of things in one of these dry-goods store basements when the tide of business is at high-water mark. The hold of an African slave ship could hardly be more baneful to the human system." Poor pay, averaging from one dollar and a half to seven dollars in the best houses; a system of fines for minor violations of rules; gross lack of sanitary arrangements; and danger from pestilential moral evils, are some of the further iniquities of the system which the writer vividly paints, and for whose restriction he demands an awakened public sentiment.

Still another enormity that calls for protest and for civil retribution is the promiscuous practice of lynching in the Southern States. In *Christian Literature and Review of the Churches* for June is a summary of atrocities which is blood-chilling. In 1892 there were one hundred and sixty lynched; and now three or four are lynched weekly. "Women are lynched as well as men. A woman is accused of poisoning her mistress; she is thrown into prison to await her trial. The mob take her out of jail; . . . she is hanged in the court house square in the view of everybody! A girl of fifteen years of age is accused of poisoning; the mob take her in the same way and hang her. The body of a white man is found dead. A negro named Hastings is accused of the crime. The mob seek him, but fail to find him, take his little daughter fourteen years of age and his son sixteen years old, hang them both on a branch of the nearest tree, and shoot their bodies full of holes. . . . They burn people in the Southern States. Once they had a platform erected, ten feet from the ground, and after taking their prisoner on a cart round the town they fastened him to this platform, thrust red-hot irons into his feet, then rolled the irons up and down his body, then poured oil over him and burnt him." A further protest against such atrocities is found in the *Christian Educator* for April. The author is Frederick Douglass, who in defense of his people argues that they are lynched *because they are black.* His stirring article concludes, "I dare to contend for the colored people of the United States that they are a law-abiding people; and I dare to insist upon it that they, or any man, black or white, accused of crime, shall have a fair trial before he is punished."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for April is sensible, solid, and stimulating. Its opening article, on "African Exploration," reviews books by von Höhnel, Lugard, Bent, and Selous, discussing different phases of the question. First remarking on the astonishing contrast between the present map of Africa and that published twenty years ago, it sets forth some of the results since reached in discovery, and finds scanty encouragement in the facts of African colonization to date. "America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are not yet exhausted; and the dangers which threaten the settler in Africa from climate, wild beasts, wild tribes, and waterless deserts do not exist in those countries toward which the tide of emigration now sets. Until such emigrants are convinced that Africa presents superior advantages, or until the more favored regions are fully occupied, the expenditure of governments or of commercial companies does not promise any appreciable return." In the second article "Dr. Julian's Hymnology" is adequately discussed, and his Dictionary of 1,628 large pages, with indexes, cross references, and alphabetical lists, is pronounced as superior to anything that has preceded it. The third article notices the second volume of the "Memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier," which covers the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons. In the next paper we find an entertaining and valuable discussion of "The Liquefaction of Gases." Lady Burghersh, who faced "warfare and privations with a girlish buoyancy;" Charlotte, Countess Canning, whose face rises "above all the horrors of the Indian mutiny . . . with a prayer for pardon on its lips;" and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, who combined the qualities of "beauty and goodness," are outlined in the next article on "Three Noble Englishwomen." The following papers discuss "Von Moltke's Campaign in Bohemia," "Naval Armaments," "Kidd on Social Evolution," and "The New Ministry." To the perplexities of the Irish question, says the writer of the last article, add "a difficult and oppressive budget and the lack of 'implicit confidence' between the prime minister and the leader of the House of Commons, and the cup of the new ministry seems almost full. Under such circumstances who would be surprised if the new ministry did not even prove 'a *successful* imposture?'"

THE *New World* for June opens with an article by H. Holtzmann on "Baur's New Testament Criticism in the Light of the Present." The conclusion of the author is that, since Baur helped to prepare a common ground on which historians and theologians can discuss the origin of Christianity, he was "a discoverer, a pathfinder, and a pioneer in the best sense of the word." Scholarly articles follow on "John Kelpius, Pietist," by F. H. Williams; "The Movement for Religious Equality in England," by Edward Porritt; and "The Religious and Historical Uses of the Bible," by F. C. Porter. In a discussion of "The Episcopalian Polity" W. Kirkus concludes: "Under the conditions of this American Episcopalianism, so long as the bishops are not unduly multiplied; so long as they are the strongest men in the Church; so long as the House of Bishops really represents the highest intelligence, the most accurate

learning, the widest experience, the most consummate statesmanship, and the most homely common sense of the Church; so long as they can hold their own in society, and make themselves felt as a power in the community in which they live, so long they will be the greatest ecclesiastical power in the United States—and no longer." Each of the following papers deserves a fuller notice than is here possible: "The Pauline Teaching of the Person of Christ," by Orello Cone; "The Significance of Pessimism," by R. A. Holland, Jr.; "Democracy and the Poet," by N. P. Gilman; and "The Book of Job," by Bernhard Duhm.

Christian Thought for June has as contributed articles: 1. "Soul and Spirit," by C. F. Deems, D.D.; 2. "The Part of the Race in Sins of the Individual," by Dr. A. H. Bradford; 3. "The Great Commission," by D. S. Gregory, D.D.; 4. "Books in Demand in a City Library," by R. S. Poole; 5. "The Pulpit and Modern Unbelief," by J. B. Drury, D.D.; 6. "Reflex Influences of Character upon Intellect," by Rev. T. S. Hamlin. The first article, entitled "A Study in Biblical Psychology," illustrates the spirit of keen philosophy which marked its lamented author, and is of particular value as being the paper on which Dr. Deems was working when stricken with paralysis. It therefore seems almost a voice from the other world, on an ever-attractive mystery of psychologic inquiry. In the second article Dr. Bradford holds the solidarity of the race; believes that the sin of the individual belongs also to the race; and represents that Christ is a social as well as an individual Saviour. Not the least attractive paper of the present issue is that by R. S. Poole, librarian of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, on the uses of a city library. The fact that the Association has a collection of 42,000 volumes makes it a center of attraction for readers. In 1893 nearly 50,000 books were consulted. Of these over thirteen per cent were works of fiction; ten per cent were poetry, drama, and kindred literature; over 8,000 were technical volumes used by medical students; nearly eight per cent were on the fine arts; thirteen per cent covered history, biography, and travels; over five per cent were on sociology; over four per cent were on the natural sciences, etc.; nearly four were on philology; over one was on philosophy; and over seven were in encyclopedias. The last contributed article is an address given by Mr. Hamlin at two young ladies' seminaries in 1893; it rings with vigorous Christian counsel. Altogether this bimonthly is to be congratulated on the vigor of its new editorship.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April opens with an article by Professor E. J. Wolf, D.D., on "Christianity and Culture." Through the field of history the author leads us in convincing proof. Though he confines his paper to a "single aspect of the debt which culture owes to Christianity," yet he holds that "by proofs equally indubitable and illustrative it can be shown that all the liberal arts—music, poetry, sculpture, painting, architecture—had their birth in modern ages in the bosom of the Church."

The second paper on "The Adaptations of Nature to the Highest Wants of Man," is by Professor G. F. Wright, editor of the Quarterly. In its representation of man's superiority and the divine goodness to him it is an article of unusual scholarship and attraction. The third article, by Rev. T. S. Potwin, on "The Composition and Date of Deuteronomy," places its period "not later than the reign of Solomon." Dr. W. H. Ward writes ably on the "Relation of Christ's Death to the Old Testament Sacrificial System;" the Rev. J. H. Ross charmingly discusses "The Hymnody of Foreign Missions;" and John Orne writes on "The Arabic Press of Beirut, Syria." The seventh article, by the Rev. D. L. Leonard, on "A Century of Foreign Missions in India," is truly encouraging. The concluding paper is by Professor Theodor Zahn, of Erlangen, on "The Adoration of Jesus in the Apostolic Age." Altogether this is a rich number of the Quarterly.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for June is a full number. It contains: 1. "The Future of Parties," by Robert Wallace, M. P.; 2. "The Royal Academy," by D. S. MacColl; 3. "The Two Salons," by Mrs. Pennell; 4. "The New Factory Bill," by Miss March-Phillipps; 5. "Rype Shooting without Dogs," by G. A. Scott; 6. "The Budget and Local Taxation," by W. M. J. Williams; 7. "The Mechanism of Thought," by Alfred Binet; 8. "Professor Robertson Smith," by J. G. Frazer; 9. "The Disaffection in Behar," by D. N. Reid; 10. "The Worship of Pottery," by W. Roberts; 11. "Musical Criticism in England," by Dr. Villiers Stanford; 12. "The Proposed Channel Bridge," by the Prince of Monaco; 13. "Silver and Tariff at Washington," whose author is nameless.

THE *North American Review* for June cannot be charged with dullness. It has: 1. "Fashion and Intellect," by W. H. Mallock; 2. "Why Should a Doctor Be Paid?" by Dr. W. A. Hammond; 3. "The Political Outlook in England," by Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett, M. P.; 4. "The New York State University," by the Bishop of Albany; 5. "The Menace of 'Coxeyism,'" by General O. O. Howard, Superintendent Thomas Byrnes, and Dr. A. H. Doty; 6. "The Modern Girl," by Sarah Grand;" 7. "Mexico Under President Diaz," by Prince Iturbide; 8. "Our Family Skeleton," by J. F. Hume; 9. "Woman Suffrage in Practice," by the Governors of Colorado and Nebraska. "Notes and Comments" is also crowded with matters of social and national importance.

THE *Yale Review* for May opens with a fascinating and valuable reminiscence of "Black Friday, 1869," by Horace White. The succeeding articles, each of which is deserving of extended quotation, are "Historical Industries," by James Schouler; "Corporations and the Legislature," by H. C. White; "Ulrich Von Hutten in the Light of Recent Investigation," by F. P. Goodrich; "The Condition of the Southern Farmer," by F. W. Moore; and "The Russian-American Extradition Treaty," by I. A. Hourwich. Valuable books are also noticed.

THE *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,* for April has: 1. "The Spiritual Teaching of the Book of Job," by Emma G. Wilbur; 2. "John Calvin and His Correspondents," by G. G. Smith; 3. "Dr. Boland on the Ninth Article," by S. H. Wainright; 4. "Were the Ancients Acquainted with America?" by R. E. Blackwell; 5. "The Idolatries of Rome," by M. B. Chapman; 6. "The Plan of Salvation," by W. A. Betts; 7. "'Jack Knife and Brambles,'" by W. P. Andrews; 8. "The Stage as a Teacher of Morals," by A. C. M.; 9. "The Home Life of the Nations," by T. A. Seals; 10. "The Conditions of Church Membership," by W. F. Tillett; 11. "Sidney Lanier's 'Song of the Chattahoochee,'" by J. E. Wray; 12. "The Church and Freedom of Conscience," by W. T. Bolling. Altogether, it is an able number of an excellent publication.

Haus und Herd for June has among its attractive papers one on "Religious Life and Work in France," by the assistant editor. He particularly notices the hopeful McAll movements.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for June throws light on mission work in Africa, India, and Chili.——The June numbers of the *Preachers' Magazine,* the *Homiletic Review,* and the *Treasury* are rich in sermonic and pastoral suggestions.——*Living Words* is the name of a new publication somewhat similar to the three last mentioned. It denominates itself "A Monthly Journal of Religious Thought, Homiletic Literature, and Practical Suggestions in Christian Work." It is ably edited by Rev. Elias B. Sanford, M.A.——The *Methodist Magazine* for June has readable articles on "Tent Life in Palestine," by Dr. W. H. Withrow; "Over the Furka Pass," by F. O. Wolf; and "Prisons, and Our Relation to Them," by Rev. R. N. Burns.——The *Nineteenth Century* for June opens with an article by G. W. Smalley, discussing "Checks on Democracy in America." The papers following it are numerous and able.——*Columbus Theological Magazine* for June has, among other papers, a continuation of "A Study of Witchcraft," by Rev. R. C. H. Lenski.——The *Canadian Methodist Review* for May–June opens with "The Idea of God in the World's Religions," by John Wier, D.D. It also contains the third paper of the series by Professor Randles on "Were the Sufferings of Christ Penal?"——The *Century* for June is rich in material. "Across Asia on a Bicycle" will attract the notice even of those who do not aspire to ride the wheel.——In the *Biblical World* for May is a particularly attractive, if unsatisfactory, paper by Dr. Harper, on "The Long-lived Antediluvians.——The *Contemporary Review* for June has important papers on "The Development of the Historic Episcopate," by Vernon Bartlet; "The Race Problem in America," by C. F. Aked; and "Frederick Denison Maurice," by H. R. Haweis.——*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for June is in the main a valuable number; but when is the end of "Trilby" to come? It is inferior in illustration and silly and prolix in composition!

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Spirit of God. By PROTAP CHUNDER MOZOOMDAR, Author of *The Oriental Christ.* 12mo, pp. 323. Boston: George H. Ellis. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Mr. Mozoomdar is at present the best-known representative of the Brahmo Somaj, that is, the best-known in America, which he has visited several times, and where he has published now three books. But in India we believe he belongs to one of the smaller of the four fragments into which the Somaj, never large, has become split up, and has a very insignificant following. The Brahmos for the last thirty years have attracted considerable attention, due, not to their numbers, which have always been small, but to the ability of a few leaders and the uncertainty as to whereunto the movement might grow. But their most prominent man, Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, sorely disappointed the expectations of his friends, and it is now abundantly clear that the movement has no future. The membership of the Somajes, or assemblies, is composed of Bengalis who have been educated in the English government schools, have thus lost faith in orthodox Hindooism with its manifest absurdities and revolting abominations, but for various reasons are unwilling to enroll themselves in the Christian Churches. The alternative, so generally embraced by the similar class in Japan, of becoming outright infidels, does not suit these young men of India; for, like the mass of their countrymen, they are strongly religious, and some kind of a religion they must have. So they have invented one less humbling to their pride of intellect and pride of race than the Christianity brought to them by foreigners—an eclecticism, combining, as they claim, the best features of all faiths and on terms of perfect fellowship with all. This they call Brahmoism, from Brahm, the supreme being, "the one without a second," of whom all the gods in the Hindoo pantheon are manifestations. It cannot be called a form of Christianity, although it is clearly the outcome of the impact of Western civilization upon Eastern minds. Nor is it a form of Hindooism, for it has even less sympathy with the Brahmans than it has with the missionaries. It is a curious conglomerate, more nearly allied, probably, with a certain class of Unitarians in America than with any other religionists under the sun, but not fitted to benefit the masses of India. On the cover of this book concerning the Spirit of God is the flag of "The New Dispensation"—as this particular wing of the Brahmos like to call their system—bearing the emblems of the three religions, Mohammedanism, Hindooism, and Christianity. This sufficiently shows from what standpoint the work is written and makes any extended comment needless. The author says, "Christ does not supplant or abolish the prophets and incarnations of other religions, but they all and each have their place in him; he completes and reconciles them." "In the Brahmo Somaj the essence of Hindooism makes peaceful reconciliation with the essence of Christianity." But, if any one procures the book in the hope of

ascertaining just what these essences are and just how they are reconciled he will be disappointed. Plenty of mysticism there is in the volume, and some excellent meditations of a devout sort, but of clear thought or important ideas very little. "All scriptures find acceptance with us," says the author, "all prophets find honor, allegiance, and imitation." He who "accepts" the *Koran* and the *Vedas* in the same sense in which he receives the New Testament is not a teacher of spiritual things to whose utterances the Christian people of America will care to give much heed. When there is so much that is better why should one wish to meddle with the worse?

Joshua and the Land of Promise. By F. B. MEYER, B.A. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. 12mo, pp. 210. Price, cloth, $1.

The Way Into the Holiest. Expositions of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By F. B. MEYER, B.A. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. 12mo, pp. 272. Price, cloth, $1.

These two books by Mr. Meyer are, like all his works, of deep interest. He has the rare art or gift of writing religious truths in most attractive style. He does not turn aside to seek for flowers of rhetoric with which to embellish his sentences. He moves straight on, like a man with a great purpose in view. But the flowers are there, and flashing gems of truth, and solid nuggets of common sense, which attract and hold and enrich. In the first work mentioned above he describes Joshua's devout heroism and the stirring events of Canaan's conquest, which thoroughly enlist his keenest sympathies and give amplest scope to his vivid imagination. He writes *con amore;* and the reader feels a responsive interest. which continues to the end. The second work, while primarily an exposition of the Hebrews, vindicates the authority of the Pentateuch by showing that it lay at the basis of the teaching of the early Church, and that especially the Book of Leviticus was the fountain of New Testament theology. It is a luxury to read such sentiments in these days of assault upon the Pentateuch. Here are no theological hair-splittings that create doubt and indecision, but manly thinking and lucid explanation in the clear light of revealed truth. The books of Mr. Meyer are fitted for the study table of all students of Scripture exegesis.

The Religious Forces of the United States. Enumerated, Classified, and Described, on the Basis of the Government Census of 1890. By H. K. CARROLL, LL.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 510. New York: The Christian Literature Company. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This book is the first volume of "The American Church History Series," to be issued by the above publishing house under the general editorial supervision of Bishop H. C. Potter, Bishop John F. Hurst, Professor George P. Fisher, Dr. E. J. Wolf, Dr. Samuel M. Jackson, and Henry C. Vedder. The prospectus of the series promises twelve volumes, intended to cover the history of all denominations in the United States. No mistake was made when the collecting of Church statistics for the Census of 1890 was intrusted by the government to Dr. Carroll. No man could have been found better fitted by ability, information, and training for this special work. Our opinion is that no religious census was ever taken in any country so accurate, complete, and trustworthy as that collected and tabu-

lated by Dr. Carroll. The volume before us does not, of course, contain that census in detail, but is based upon it, and presents in clear and proper order the general results in compact summaries, along with brief sketches of the origin, history, doctrines, peculiar customs, numbers, property, etc., of the different denominations. Not the least valuable portion of the book is the "Introduction," which contains fourteen chapters on the following topics: "The Source of Information and the Plan;" "The Scope and Method of the Census;" "Variety in Religion;" "Classification of the Churches;" "Denominational Titles;" "The Causes of Division;" "Analysis of Religious Forces of the United States;" "The Religious Population;" "The Growth of the Churches;" "How the Religious Forces are Distributed;" "The Evangelical and Nonevangelical Elements;" "The General Statistical Summaries;" "The Characteristics of American Christianity;" "How the Church Affects Society." In addition to the regular denominations such bodies as the Salvation Army, the Society for Ethical Culture, the Theosophical Society, the Schwenkfeldians, and the Social Brethren Church, are included, as also one hundred and fifty-six single and independent organizations having no connection with anything outside of themselves. Dr. Carroll's book is the best, as it is the most recent and up-to-date, bird's-eye view of the religious map of the United States. Everybody who has any interest in such subjects will want this volume, whether he purchases the remaining volumes of the "Church History Series" or not; yet the entire series promises to be very valuable. The effect of reading this work is to encourage the friends of religion with a hopeful outlook for the future and with the certainty that Christianity was never more prosperous and powerful than now. Serious reflections are suggested by the multiplicity of denominations and the infinitesimal divisions and subdivisions of Protestantism, as here presented to their last most minute, microscopic detail. The author makes it plain that, in spite of all deductions, criticisms, and errors, "the Church is the mightiest, most pervasive, most persistent, and most beneficent force in our civilization." Dr. Carroll has rendered a monumental service to Christendom in giving exact and solid reasons for the hopes which cheer the heart of the Church as it approaches the threshold and faces the problems of the twentieth century. It is a matter of special interest and satisfaction to us that this thorough piece of work has been done by a Methodist hand.

A Harmony of the Gospels, in the Revised Version. With Some New Features. By JOHN A. BROADUS, D.D., LL.D. Small 8vo, pp. 265. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Dr. Broadus is a professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, at Louisville, Ky. That he is a thoughtful biblical scholar this work shows on every page. He affirms it to be the fruit of thirty years spent in teaching the English New Testament. He divides the life and ministry of Christ into eight periods. The first deals with "Matters Connected with our Lord's Birth and Childhood." The others are "Beginnings of the Forerunner's Ministry," "Beginnings of our Lord's Ministry," "Our

Lord's Great Ministry in Galilee," "Season of Retirement into Districts around Galilee," "Closing Ministry in all Parts of the Holy Land," "Last Week of our Lord's Ministry, and his Crucifixion," and "Our Lord's Resurrection, Appearances, and Ascension." The general working out of the author's plan renders the book easy of reference. The type and paper are good, and a wide margin is left for written memoranda. A few additional "Practical Notes" are added by Dr. Robertson, his colleague, and these are valuable. One of them is on "The Four Lists of the Twelve Apostles," as given by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Acts. It is a most clear and satisfactory explanation of apparent discrepancies.

Outline Studies in the Books of the Old Testament. By Professor G. W. MOOREHEAD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 363. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is one of the most valuable books of its kind that has appeared for a decade. For nearly two years it was published as a serial in the *Young Men's Era*, making a decided impression and adding greatly to the popularity of that paper. It is especially adapted to the uses of the pastor, the Sunday school teacher, and Christian workers generally. The author is scholarly, without any show of pedantry. To each book in the Bible a chapter is devoted, discussing in a concise form its authorship, the circumstances of its composition, its form, its contents, and other correlated subjects. The chapter on Job, for example, covers sixteen pages and is one of the best short articles ever written on this grand old patriarch. Its opening sentences are as follows: "The Book of Job is one of the noblest poems in existence. The splendor of imagery which glows on every page, the personages introduced into it, the mysterious problems which it discusses, the action which sweeps through every emotion of the soul and strikes every chord of the heart invest the book with peculiar interest." The following are some of the topics most satisfactorily discussed: "Is Job a Real or Fictitious Character?" "The Age in which Job Lived;" "Structure of the Book;" "Design of the Book;" and "Satan's Slander against Job." Nine pages are given to the Book of Jonah. The key to its admirable treatment is in this sentence: "It needs scarcely to be said that the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ forever settles the question of its authenticity and genuineness for every Christian."

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PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Political Economy and Natural Law. By HENRY WOOD, Author of *Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography*, etc. 12mo, pp. 305. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The skeleton of this work was presented to the public in 1887 as "Natural Law in the Business World." The new title indicates fairly the growth of the work into a valuable treatise on economic science. The author is a thinker who has tested his thought in the world of facts; and he is gifted with a rare courage which evades no difficulty. While there is nothing novel in making economics a province of natural law, yet the author's method of vindicating that thesis—a method at once idealistic

and practical—is far more successful than the conventional and purely intellectual method of most other "orthodox" economists. In twenty-four chapters, filling three hundred pages, we are conducted through all the field of debate by an ardent philanthropist, who believes in our "social system as a whole," and holds the judgment that "the present order, in its purity, is the only one for existing conditions." The economic order in which we live is a growth—a natural outcome of our past. It will be modified by future growth, but this modification must be effected from within. It cannot be changed except as we change. It will be better when we are better; it will be perfect if we become perfect, not else. And yet "our economic evils are not the outcome of our present social system, but of the abuses which fasten themselves to it, consequent upon general moral delinquency." In short, our economic system is more perfect in its principles than we are; and if we were good enough to live up to sound economic doctrine our social system would yield a larger harvest of abundance. The author's analysis of the leading laws of our economic order is original and optimistic. In competition, for example, the successful man is the competent man, and the unsuccessful one is an incompetent man. The premium on competency is a divine order which never has been evaded and never will be. The political socialist is a man competing for honors and for power. If he succeeds he will exercise the authorities now in the hands of our statesmen and greatly enlarge them. Very likely he does not know that he is already in full swing under the competitive system, or realize that, after he has wrested power from other hands, some new leader in reform will compete with him for the prize. The bad tricks of competitors are not the system, but are immoralities, and will stay with us as long as men lie and steal. Self-interest is not selfishness, and does not require us to be scoundrels or justify us in any trespass. The successful man makes a path for weaker men. A great man built a boat, and then small men could build boats. No matter how wicked the great man was, his success taught others the law of success at that point; so that bad intent does not always make selfish competition an unmitigated evil. Good may come of it, and the wrath of man praise God. In this penetrating and luminous way our author goes through the field with his lamp of natural law, and has shed some cheerful light on every economic principle or condition, including the vexed questions in production and finance which disturb our industries and perplex our politics. The work is an aggressive piece of conservatism. The growth, by the way, of a conservative optimism—of a conservatism which is jubilant, aggressive, and progressive—is a chief mark of these last years of the century. And this book is a fine example of such an optimism.

Sub-Coelum, A Sky-built Human World. By A. P. RUSSELL. 12mo, pp. 267. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Recollections of *Library Notes* and *Characteristics* by this author lead us to expect from him books containing a large amount of variegated information and out-of-the-way incident. For taking up in odd hours those two books are interesting, spicy, and bright. This latest produc-

tion from Mr. Russell is of a different character. It avoids the region of historic and biographic incident and, with great ingenuity, constructs in fancy an ideal world. As a work of the imagination it displays invention, and possibly many of its dreamings may in time prove prophetic foreshadowings of things that are to be. The world which Mr. Russell pictures is Arcadia, Utopia, Garden of Eden, and millennium, all in one; and it is not likely that even the writer himself expects that such a paradisaic combination will ever really come to pass upon this rather earthly earth. The elements of this awkward, contradictory, contentious, pragmatic, and obstinate old world are not sufficiently malleable, ductile, amiable, and plastic to be worked into ideally perfect harmony on the frame of so fine a theory. Nevertheless, the book is not without much pleasant and profitable interest. It has the fascination of futurity, the freedom of prediction which no one not gifted with omniscience can dogmatically deny, the quiver of suspense and wonder which conjecture awaits, the unknown and immeasurable possibilities of the things that are to be. In Mr. Russell's golden age there will be abundance of leisure, special instruction in the fine art of telling the truth with precision, chairs of common sense in the colleges, habits of charitable judgment, unfettered individuality, schools of cooking, better physicians and lawyers and ministers, few laws, and limited estates; friends will be counted as the most valuable property, idleness will be disreputable, and there will be no plebeians and no aristocrats; vices will be exterminated; there will be funeral and wedding reforms, sensible dressing, endless orchards, hospices for visiting strangers, prohibition and abolition of snoring, kindness and respect for animals, a diminution of self-confidence and positiveness, and larger use of the words "probably" and "perhaps." If there is anything that is not to be reformed in the author's "sky-built world" we have forgotten what it is. To one reader this book recalls the ancient Greek fables which looked backward to alleged good old times, when all manner of delightful impossibilities happened everywhere and the miraculous and fantastic had full possession of the world; when "tables set themselves, and goblets filled themselves with nectar unbidden, and fish willingly basted themselves, turning the other side to the fire to make sure of being well done; when peace was everywhere and everything grew spontaneously; when rivers ran with milk and honey, and the only quarrel was among the wheat and barley cakes and roasted larks and sweetbreads, as to which could get into your mouth first; when good roast beef all hot went about the streets crying to be eaten, attended by fleets of sausages and shoals of salt fish seasoned just to the taste"—a time of which it might be said, "the world went very well then." In nothing is man quite so great and wonderful as in his dreams.

Some Salient Points in the Science of the Earth. By Sir J. WILLIAM DAWSON, F.R.S. With Forty-six Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 499. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.

The headings of the eighteen chapters in this work show that the points which the author discusses are indeed "salient." Eight of these

chapters, for instance, are as follows: "World Making," "History of the North Atlantic," "The Dawn of Life," "Genesis and Migration of Plants," "Growth of Coal," "The Great Ice Age," "Early Man," and "Man in Nature." This volume is both new and old; the new is vigorous, the old is in a large measure reconstructed and is as good as the new. Dr. Dawson is well known as one of the world's best scientists. His *Story of the Earth and Man* and *The Origin of the World* are everywhere accepted and rank as classics. In these pages we find the same spirit of courage, ripe scholarship, and reverent faith as of old, and the same purpose to make a book worthy to be read and studied by all classes. His themes are familiar to him. He speaks with great force because he is sure, and has patiently wrought out his theories from a wide and comprehensive range of observation. He is an able and persistent opponent of the theories of the evolutionists, and makes short work with them. As we read these pages, so vigorous and vivid, we can hardly think of the author as growing toward the eighties, and for the sake of science could wish he were but beginning his career as teacher and writer. He uses beautifully clear and concise language, and speaks as nearly as possible in the dialect of the ordinary scholar. This is one of the elements of power in his works that has made them so popular. His splendid chapter on "The Great Ice Age" is in point. It is in marked contrast to Geike's, Tyndall's, and Rau's discussions of the same theme, for clearness and cogency, and for ease of reading. Nor is he inferior to these scientists in the grasp of the subject and in sharp intellectual treatment. The book will command a good place as an excellent summary of geological history.

The Works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Poet Laureate. One volume, 8vo, pp. 898. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.75.

Only a few men can indulge the elegant taste for elaborate and voluminous editions. Life with the large majority is so limited and so practical that a handy one-volume edition of the works of a great author is a desideratum whenever possible. Economy of space and time, instant accessibility, and similar considerations make us ready oftentimes to trade off six volumes for one which holds all the contents of the six. This is the value and desirability of the edition of Tennyson published by Macmillan & Co., which in size and appearance is fit to stand on the library shelf beside the complete one-volume Longfellow issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Here under one cover are the three hundred poems which constitute the literary legacy left our generation and the ages to come by the laureate of Victorian England. All the gentle grace and sumptuous elegance, the polished phrase, the perfect cadence, the faultless finish, the exquisite literary beauty, which made Tennyson the modern Virgil are here. The great poet whom the queen made a peer was in many respects a peerless poet. The garments of his muse are rich and fine and dainty through and through; we see her walk in outer robes of velvet; we hear a silken rustle whispering underneath, rhythmic to the measures of her motion. The rare, sweet, wonderful songs which, had there been no

other poetic voice, were enough in themselves to make England and the nineteenth century musical, are sold in this volume for a song—much treasure in little space for a small price. A certain author being requested to write gratuitously a "New Year's Greeting" for a syndicate of newspapers, and also some appropriate mottoes, replied, "I cannot greet those whom I do not know, but you are welcome to my motto, which is, 'Nothing for nothing and very little for sixpence.'" In the book we are noticing there is a great deal for not much more than sixpence. The edition is strong, clear, smooth, well-bound, compact, and such as will render good service and afford satisfaction. The most elegant and melodious of English poets should be found in every home and every library.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Brave Little Holland, and What She Taught Us. By W. E. GRIFFIS, D.D. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 252. Price, $1.25. In Riverside Library for Young People. Small 16mo, 75 cents. New York and Boston. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The stately volumes of Motley represent one method and *Brave Little Holland* quite another, in the treatment of the same theme. The one sketch with wealth of illustration and resource the majestic development of a nation against the inroads of the sea and the violence of fiercer foes, while the other is a book for young people or for an afternoon's easy reading on a railcar. That Dr. Griffis falls below the historian of the Dutch republic is to be expected. He ventures merely an outline, not much more than a simple table of contents, a brief but at the same time a satisfactory view of the growth of liberty under the guardianship and guidance of Dutch valor and statesmanship. The author has the first qualities of literary success; he is in sympathy with his subject, his style is clear, the sentences are short and pointed. More diffuseness would perhaps have been better. No one, however, can lay this book aside without a distinct impression of the greatness of the events it describes. The relations of Holland with Rome, Spain, England, and America, the influence of the Crusades upon intellectual movements in the Netherlands, and the close identification of religious toleration with national prosperity are all clearly perceived and forcibly stated. The spirit which made and has maintained "brave little Holland," giving her a high historic place among the noblest nations, has its latest impressive manifestation in the quiet announcement recently made that "the Royal Netherland Commission has decided in favor of the project to reclaim five hundred thousand acres of the Zuyder Zee, by means of a sea-dyke from Northern Holland into Friesland," at a cost, "including measures of defense and compensation to fishermen, of three hundred and fifteen million guilders." In a way and to an extent which no other people on the face of the earth has ever paralleled, Holland is a self-made country. Whenever it pleases her to do so she sweeps back the ocean with her broom. What Canute could not do, she can. There is a look of omnipotence in her action when she sets a new bound for the mighty sea, saying calmly, as she extends her dykes,

"Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." The varied story of her indomitable prowess and all-enduring patience makes it impossible for us to wonder that Holland initiated modern political science in its best and freest expression; or that she "instructed Europe in progressive agriculture, was the real pioneer in navigation and discovery, produced the most eminent jurists of the seventeenth century, issued more books than all the rest of Europe, and was, inferentially, the most learned and cultured country of the world." Dr. Griffis's book is well adapted to charm young people into a desire to know Dutch history in all its details and significance, as set forth in works more ambitious, voluminous, and complete.

A Child's History of Spain. By JOHN BONNER, Author of *A Child's History of Rome, A Child's History of France etc.* Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 365. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.

This work does not pretend to be a philosophical history of Spain. Its purpose would be defeated if it were so. Children are not to be attracted by the dry results of critical investigation, or by the conclusions of learned professors who have outlived their youthful illusions and who would apply to the historical records of vigorous and sturdy peoples the tests of their own conservative and unromantic minds. Nor is a *post-mortem* examination always the best place to secure materials for a faithful picture of actual life. To project our own elaborated theories upon a remote and unfamiliar age; to evolve therefrom a system which shall coincide with our modern, highly developed, and unduly unpoetical ideas; to attempt to reconstruct from the mere skeleton all the lines and proportions of the body and all the faculties and emotions of the soul, may possibly guide us no nearer to the truth than would an unphilosophical acceptance of tradition, which probably very largely reflects the spirit of former times, if it does not always embody literal and chronological fact. Perhaps religious truth is not the only truth for whose apprehension we need to become as little children. Mr. Bonner in this volume selects such events from Spanish history as will best interest juvenile readers and stimulate them to obtain sooner or later a more extended and thorough knowledge of the subject. That many of the incidents he describes are not capable of scientific demonstration is very likely. Indeed, he constantly interjects, in a familiar way, a word of caution against a too implicit credence of many of the old legends; as, for example, when in speaking of the Cid Campeador he says, "Though his story reads like a fanciful legend, and some pundits have even doubted whether there ever was such a personage, he is too famous in Spain to be passed over." Such remarks, scattered here and there throughout the book, perhaps constitute all the critical training the average boy or girl is prepared to receive; and these may, at a more mature period of life, and probably will, wherever necessary, evoke inquiry, lead to investigation, and elicit truth. But, making all allowances and eliminating all questionable facts, the history of Spain remains the most romantic of all histories. The conditions were peculiarly favorable to picturesque combination and heroic action. Iberian and Celt, Tyrian and Carthaginian, Greek and Roman, Goth

and Moor, Frenchman and Englishman contested its soil and shared in the development of its institutions. Hannibal, Scipio, Pompey, Cæsar battled here in ancient times; Napoleon and Wellington in more recent times. Here various forms of paganism struggled with one another, and later the champions of Cross and Crescent met in conflict to the death. The division of its territory into numerous Moorish as well as Christian states led to constant warfare, and nourished patriotism as it also intensified religious ardor and racial pride. Out of this rich material Mr. Bonner has produced a vivid and stirring narrative. He gives but eight pages to the domination of the Romans, and but seven to the Visigothic occupation. This allows him greater freedom in painting striking details of the Moorish wars. Thirty pages are devoted to Columbus, twenty-five to Cortez, and nine to Pizarro. In the remaining pages the later history is rapidly sketched. In the earlier part of the book illustrations are frequent, and in some cases are interesting and really elucidate the times. The whole volume presents a good, if somewhat superficial and uncritical, view of Spanish history, and will delight any well-constituted and healthy boy, while its romantic features will probably render it equally acceptable to many a bright and enthusiastic girl.

Was the Apostle Peter Ever at Rome? A Critical Examination of the Evidence and Arguments Presented on Both Sides of the Question. By REV. MASON GALLAGHER, D.D. With an Introduction by Rev. JOHN HALL, D.D. 12mo, pp. 249. New York: Printed by Hunt & Eaton. Price, $1.25.

The casual reader might say, "Who cares?" But the question is one of importance and its discussion is opportune. The *pros* and *cons* are in these pages compacted and arrayed against each other. Rome rests her claims on Peter. This is asserted over and over, in quotations from Catholic writers, and is with equal force controverted. There is no evidence from Scripture that Peter ever was at Rome, and none from the accredited early Christian fathers. Even the apostle's own language (1 Peter v, 13), "The Church that is at Babylon . . . saluteth you," has been vigorously used as an argument for Peter's sojourn in the Eternal City, which, the Roman Catholics say, for reasons of his own he describes as "Babylon." One wonders that they do not fear to identify it with the "Babylon" of the Apocalypse. Dr. Gallagher brings careful research and great study to this vexed question. He quotes from both sides the very best, in the spirit of impartiality. It will do both sides good to read this work. One is surprised at the sheer assertion on the Romish side and the lack of satisfactory evidence in proof. Many clerical and legal minds have long ago surrendered the argument, but still the Roman Church asserts the claim and the mass accept the teaching. We note that Dr. Gallagher drops, and wisely, the term "Saint" from the names of all the apostles. There is no authority for its use. They were not so styled until centuries after their death. We had noted a number of passages to quote, but refrain, and urge our readers to read for themselves. Having once opened the volume one gets absorbed, and will hardly leave it until he has finished; and when he has finished the question is forever settled.

Sketches of Mexico, in Prehistoric, Primitive, Colonial, and Modern Times. Lectures at Syracuse University on the Graves Foundation, 1894. By Rev. JOHN W. BUTLER, D.D., Twenty Years Resident in Mexico. 12mo, pp. 316. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

However much has been written on the origin and development of Mexican life, the scanty realization of the many good qualities of "our next door neighbor" justifies the issue of such works as the one here under consideration. Especially are such volumes valuable when they are written, not by tourists who have dashed through the country and have hurriedly recorded the results of their superficial observations, but by those who have resided in Mexico sufficiently long to see things in their true light and to form right judgments of Mexican institutions. To the latter class belongs the present author. In the pursuit for a score of years of that calling which is more adapted than all others to inspire close study of human nature and broad generalizations upon national life, he has written of Mexico as one who has become, in the better sense, Mexicanized. The writer of the "Introduction" well says of him: "He has mingled with the people of all ranks and classes, from the president and his counselors to the provincial Indian in his rude hut. He has seen the Mexicans in their workday clothes and in their galaday garb, in their toils, their sorrows, and their joys, at their worship, in their festivities, and in their diversions. He has traveled extensively about the country, and is familiar with its topography, its antiquities, its vast resources, and its advancing improvements. Thus he had ample qualifications before he took occasion to lecture on Mexico." So far as the structure of these addresses goes, only words of approval need be spoken. In their chronological arrangement, they begin with the inquiry touching the origin of Mexican life, and follow down the line of history till the very present; in their wide range they discuss anthropology and the general progress of civilization; in their allegiance to the service of the great King, they consider not only secular matters but also questions of morality and religion. The different lectures are entitled: "Sources of Information," "Origin of the Mexicans," "Prehistoric Mexicans," "Early Mexicans and Their History," "The Moctezumas and the King David of Mexico," "The Arrival of the Spaniards," "Independence and the Constitution of 1857," "New Life in Mexico." As the successor of the elder Dr. Butler, who has himself written a valuable book on Mexico and has left an undying influence for good in that priest-ridden land, the son is a missionary reflecting high honor upon his distinguished father.

Rambles in the Old World. By MILTON S. TERRY, Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute. 12mo, pp. 342. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.

This book interjects itself like a prose poem into the homely and wearisome round of daily service. Although the publication of narrations of European travel has become as common as the journey itself to the Old World, yet there is enough that is unusual and winsome in Dr. Terry's story to lead to its cordial commendation. The purpose of his travel, as declared in his work, was not the study of human nature, foreign cus-

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toms, commerce and arts, or the problems of labor and capital, but was rather to look upon "old things." "The chief inspiration of foreign travel," he remarks, "is a desire to come into local contact with the remaining vestiges of ancient times; to look on cities that represent the history of a thousand years; to tread the battlefields which have been the scenes of conflicts never to be lost from the world's memory. Old castles; old cathedrals; monuments gray with age or falling into ruin; the masterpieces of human genius, wrought in stone and metal and on the canvas; the palaces and the prisons of past ages—these are what the foreign tourist looks for." In the fulfillment of this purpose the traveler swept over the continent as far east as Greece and north as far as Norway. He observed as a scholar and a philosopher, and in his charming description suggests many important lessons for other Old World ramblers.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Biographers of Christ. By EMERSON K. YOUNG, D.D. Introduction by Bishop JOHN F. HURST, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 117. Philadelphia: C. R. Parish & Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The personality and the work of the biographers of our Lord are deservedly brought into new prominence by this volume of Dr. Young. While he has trodden upon ground long since explored by Christian scholars, there is so much of independence in his new venture as to commend his labor. It was the mission of Matthew, by his showing, to "bridge the gulf between the dispensations" and to set forth Jesus as the Jewish Messiah; Mark wrote of the human Christ; Luke was a Gentile, and his book was "the only contribution from the Gentile world to the New Testament history;" John wrote a supplemental and a doctrinal Gospel. The vigor and clearness of Dr. Young's work commend it to notice. Whoever wishes information in a compact form concerning the evangelists cannot do better than avail himself of this handbook.

Literary and Social Silhouettes. By H. H. BOYESEN. 16mo, pp. 218. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.

Professor Boyesen is a Scandinavian naturalized in American life and literature. He is a writer of delicate taste and fine critical faculty, rather than an original and productive author. The thirteen chapters of this small volume are entitled, "Types of American Women," "German and American Women," "The American Novelist and his Public," "The Progressive Realism of American Fiction," "The Hero in Fiction," "American Literary Criticism," "America in European Literature," "The Ethics of Robert Browning," "Mars *versus* Apollo," "Philistinism," "Some Stray Notes on Alphonse Daudet," "My Lost Self," and "The Meridian of Life." In a degree the author aims to enable us Americans to "see oursels as ithers see us."

Romanism versus Protestantism. By Rev. R. C. ARMSTRONG, B.D. 12mo, pp. 125. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith. Price, paper, 25 cents; cloth, 50 cents.

This book of eight chapters is by a member of the Northwest Texas Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who notes

with anxiety the aggressions of Roman Catholicism in the region under his observation. He asserts that Romanism is unchanged, having altered neither her creed, her methods, nor her spirit. In his opinion she is intolerant, avaricious, tricky, corrupt; she perverts history, enslaves the intellect, promotes immorality by the celibacy of priests and nuns, seeks political supremacy, aims at destruction of the public schools, plunders public treasuries, threatens civil liberty, and endangers the safety and stability of the Republic. Wherefore, he describes her as one of the great public enemies, rum, demagogy, debauched legislatures, and a venal press being some of the others. For information and corroboration he draws on Father Chiniquy, Rev. O. M. Owen, and Rev. L. L. Picket.

Pembroke. By MARY E. WILKINS, Author of *A Humble Romance, and Other Stories; A New England Nun, and Other Stories*, etc. 12mo, pp. 330. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.25.

Miss Wilkins's stories picture New England, as Cable's the Southern Creoles, as Bret Harte's the rough, wild West, as Kipling's India, and Parker's northern Canada. She is a true literary artist. The life she has seen and paints has never been more clearly seen and could not be better painted. She is also a true woman, with all that feminine sympathy, deep insight, delicate sensibility, and gift of tender handling which once a woman put into *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and so moved the heart of the world. She makes us feel the depth and height and sacredness of the homeliest human life. Whoever does that helps to sanctify and dignify the world. In *Pembroke* there is no flagging of the author's power. Her tide is at the full.

The Deaconess and Her Vocation. By BISHOP THOBURN. 12mo, pp. 127. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

The Lamb of God. Expositions in the Writings of St. John. By W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., Author of *The Incarnate Saviour*, etc. 12mo, pp. 124. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Thoughts on God and Man. Selections from the Works of FREDERICK WILLIAM ROBERTSON, "of Brighton." Edited by JOSEPH B. BURROUGHS, M.D. 16mo, pp. 306. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

Good Night Thoughts about God; or, Evening Readings for the Young. By EVA TRAVERS EVERED POOLE. 12mo, pp. 137. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 35 cents.

Gist. A Handbook of Missionary Information. Preeminently for Use in Young Women's Circles. Compiled and edited by LILLY RYDER GRACEY. 16mo, pp. 203. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

Of the above volumes the first is written in Bishop Thoburn's interesting and instructive style. The third book is charming in selection and typography. The last is full of suggestions for missionary addresses or concerts.

The Expert Waitress. A Manual for the Pantry, Kitchen, and Dining Room. By ANNIE FRANCES SPRINGSTEAD. 16mo, pp. 131. New York: Harper and Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

The title of this little work is its own interpreter. Because of the variation of tastes and opinions, the author has designed her papers

"rather as a working model than as a set of rules from which there is no appeal." They abound in wholesome advice.

The Exiles, and Other Stories. By RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. 12mo, pp. 221. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The titles of the "other stories" are "The Writing on the Wall," "The Right of Way," "His Bad Angel," "The Boy Orator of Zepata City," "The Romance in the Life of Hefty Burke," and "An Anonymous Letter."

With Edged Tools. By HENRY SETON MERRIMAN, Author of *From One Generation to Another.* 12mo, pp. 340. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.25.

This book is by an author who has ideas, knowledge of human life, and a serious purpose, as well as skill and power in portrayal.

Ideas of Truth. By JOHN RUSKIN. 32mo, pp. 75.

Conversation. An essay. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. 32mo, pp. 71.

She Stoops to Conquer; or, The Mistakes of a Night. By OLIVER GOLDSMITH. 32mo, pp. 134.

The Eve of St. Agnes, and Sonnets. By JOHN KEATS. 32mo, pp. 84.

The Study of Poetry. An Essay. By MATTHEW ARNOLD. 32mo, pp. 74.

The House of Life. A Sonnet—Sequence. By DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI. 32mo, pp. 106.

The authorship of these booklets more than justifies their issue; their convenient and beautiful form make them a charm for all readers. They constitute the fifth set in the attractive series of "Literary Gems" published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Paul's Ideal Church and People. A Popular Commentary on First Timothy. By ALFRED ROWLAND, LL.B., B.A. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. 12mo, pp. 287. $1.

The title is fully descriptive of the book. Thirty-one pages are given to expository notes on the epistle, which is here taken in the Revised Version. Then follow forty sermonettes on the epistle as a whole. For instance, these five are on Chapter II: Intercessory Prayer; The Atonement; On Prayer; Woman's True Dignity; The Position of Woman. The sermonettes are simple, spiritual, and suggestive. They can but be helpful. The book is one which will fit into the heart and thought of many a Sunday school teacher. It will teach one how to read an epistle at a sitting and so grasp it as a whole. Reading of this sort is needed on the part of Bible scholars and teachers to-day.

Our Home Pets. How to Keep Them Well and Happy. Illustrated. By OLIVE THORN MILLER. 16mo, pp. 273. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The sentimental aspect of the care of pets is prominently presented in this handbook. The author is evidently one who finds enjoyment in the singing of household birds and the affection of four-footed animals. At the same time her volume is not altogether one random sentiment. But it is also a practical and helpful treatise on the caging, feeding, and care of birds; the relative worth of large, middle-sized, and small dogs; the merits of the cat, which she calls "the most generally misunderstood creature in the world;" and the keeping of other household pets.

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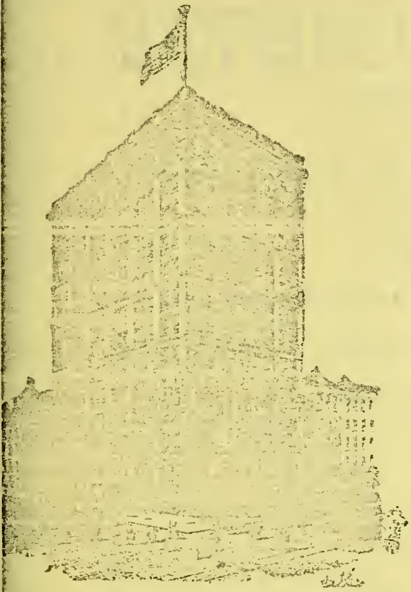

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1894.

Art. I.—DOGMA AND OPINION WITHIN ROMAN BOUNDS.

The author once remarked to a learned and orthodox Roman Catholic clergyman of our country that the boundaries between dogma and free opinion in his Church seemed extremely uncertain, and one might suppose that even great Catholic divines would be sometimes puzzled to fix them. He laughed, and replied: "You might have omitted the 'sometimes.'" This state of things may receive some illustration from the present condition of American Presbyterianism in its principal branch. Here the great majority insist that various points are obligatory on belief, at least within their bounds, which the minority insist are not involved by any necessity of interpretation within the terms of the Confession of Faith and, therefore, ought to be left to free discussion.

The Roman Catholic Church, however, being so much older, so much vaster, and spread over so many more various regions than is a particular Protestant Church of a particular country, may be expected to be at once much broader and much more bigoted in its theology than any local denomination—much broader, as having been taught, by the experience of so many ages and of so many lands, how much that at this or that time may have appeared essential to the substance of the Christian message has turned out to be really only a part of its varying form; much more bigoted, because, whenever a particular theological tendency may have gained reigning force within the Church, it can break its way with so tremendous a strength

of numbers over the resistance of minorities. Two Protestant students of the Roman Catholic system, therefore, or the same student at different times, may enlarge with equal justice, now on the remarkable and benignant liberality of her theology, now on its relentless narrowness and severity. Whenever Rome has a strong and permanent interest in pressing certain interpretations of doctrines, then she may be expected to be as severe as the dread of an incurable schism will allow, if she even suffers such a dread to stay her hand. On the contrary, she may be expected to be carelessly magnanimous as to all that vast range of theological speculation, much of it of great intrinsic moment, which hangs but loosely on the central trunk. In such a case it is almost *quot homines, tot sententiæ.* The various schools or various theologians may belabor each other lustily, and may hurl mutual accusations of heterodoxy with small respect to consequences, precisely after our Protestant fashion; but Rome sits calmly by, perhaps even laughing in her sleeve at the humors of the fray, and only interposing now and then to remind the contestants not to be too free with imputations of heresy where the Church has not spoken. These exhortations are sometimes heeded, and perhaps much more frequently evaded. A theological teacher, for instance, belonging, say, to one of the two great Thomist schools (of whose distinctive tenets we may remark that we are blissfully ignorant) will sometimes observe to his pupils: "The pope has forbidden us to call the other side heretics; but if the facts call them heretics, I am not responsible for the facts." The long contest between the Dominicans and Franciscans over the Immaculate Conception affords a notable instance of these recriminations. For centuries, all papal prohibitions to the contrary notwithstanding, great numbers of the Franciscans, in their zeal for the honor of Mary, appear to have treated the whole Dominican order, that bulwark of orthodoxy and of the Inquisition, as itself little better than a school and synagogue of heretics. They persevered in this temper until, at last, with the help of the rising order of the Jesuits, they conquered the courage of the Dominicans to contend for the original corruption of the whole race except the Redeemer. In our own time they have harshly coerced the *Ordo Prædicatorum* and celebrated, in this particular, their final triumph over the doctrine and disciples of St. Thomas.

Rome, we may remark, plays in these disputes very much the part of the crown in England—in theory the ultimate authority, yet in fact rather embodying the reigning tendency than itself originating it. Yet the supremacy of Rome is so far a fact as this—that, on the whole, the Italian temper has principally determined the complexion of Roman Catholicism, and that, almost in proportion as the rights of nationality have developed themselves in a Catholic country in the civil and intellectual spheres, they have been more and more circumscribed by Italian jealousy within the religious sphere. Of this process of gradual subjugation, as we know, the Jesuits have been the main agents. Inheriting Spanish bigotry and Italian formalism, yet having a far keener instinct of the new era than the elder orders, as being themselves the children of it, they have finally brought it to pass that a papal decision of doctrine seems very commonly to be little more than an official ratification of what it pleases the all-powerful Society to decree.

In speaking of Roman Catholicism, we have to do as astronomers do about the fixed stars, whose light is so long in reaching us that when we use the present tense we really mean the past. Time was, and lasted for some six or seven generations after the Reformation, when Roman Catholic internal controversies were almost as open and virulent as Catholic controversies with Protestantism. At last, however, the decline of specific theological interest, and the guardianship assumed by the Jesuits over what remained, brought the old temper of virile courage and frankness to an end. The dying agony may be described as having lasted from 1801 till 1870. In the old times of Molinism and Jansenism, a Protestant found it about as easy as a Catholic to keep *au fait* of the dispute; but now that theological variance, though perhaps as deep as ever, has been so largely reduced to undertones, we may have to watch long for the outward complexion of the Church to change sufficiently to give us note of what has been going on within.

Will the present doctrinal predominance of Jesuitism in the Roman Catholic Church be permanent? That is something which no one, above all, no Protestant, can decide. The current of Jesuit influence is strong; but we do not know what deeper currents may be flowing beneath, soon to come to the surface, reversing it or absorbing it. The most encouraging

symptom is the unquestionable and perhaps permanent discomfiture of Jesuitism in the conduct of the apostolic delegation in our country; in the marked papal favor shown to the Archbishop of St. Paul; in the energy with which the inauguration of the Washington University, so distasteful to the Jesuits, has been accomplished; and in the vehemence and, we may say, virulence with which we sometimes see the Jesuits attacked in some of those Catholic papers which have been most graciously complimented by authority—as, for instance, in the *Western Watchman.* These symptoms of revolt, it is true, are local; but, should they find a succession of popes to encourage them, they might soon overthrow the Jesuit control in Catholicism at large. American contagion is beginning to spread even to the center of the Church; though it is true that the bondage of thought seems rather to deepen than remit.

Assuming, therefore, that it is possible and, perhaps, probable that the Roman Catholicism of the future, without losing its continuity of doctrine or administration, may be keyed on a very different note from that of the present, it is interesting to inquire how large a range of doctrine is left as yet undecided. Examination, I think, will surprise us. The flippant confidence with which so many popular lecturers undertake to determine what is essential to Roman Catholic doctrine is discreditable to them and misleading to the public. It is reflected, indeed, from the similar and less excusable behavior of many Roman Catholic divines, who, as the learned Recollet Franciscan Chrismann scornfully remarks, have a perfect mania for fettering the consciences of the faithful by making out all sorts of opinions to be essential to the faith which, whether true or false, are established neither by Scripture, nor early tradition, nor universal consent of the fathers, and therefore lack every criterion to be applied to articles of faith. This book of Chrismann, printed at Würzburg in 1854 and entitled, *Regula Fidei et Collectio Dogmatum Credendorum*, is at the foundation of this paper, although he is not to be understood as responsible for all that we may say.

The ultimate theorem, assumed by all Roman Catholics without dispute, evaded by the Vatican Council, but not contradicted even by that, is this: Nothing can be established as a part of the Catholic faith which is not included in the apostolic

message as a fact or truth divinely revealed. Many positions are universally accepted among Roman Catholics—and many of these as of great theological importance, so that the whole present system of the Church would be sadly shaken if they were discredited—which, nevertheless, are confessed to be incapable of definition as articles of faith. For instance, says Chrismann, all Catholics believe that St. Peter was for a number of years bishop of Rome, and left the primacy of the Church to his successors in the bishopric. Yet neither fact is any part of the apostolic message, whether written or oral. It is known only by human historical report, and therefore can never be an article of faith. That Peter had the primacy, and that this is permanent in the Church, are positions deduced, in some way or other, from the Scriptures, and are at present enforced as of faith; but that the Roman bishop must always be the primate is not of faith.

It is not denied by many Roman Catholics, if by any, that revelations may have been repeatedly made by God to holy men and women, living long after the apostles, concerning spiritual truths of high importance—as, for instance, the nature or degree of celestial or infernal awards, or of purgatorial pains, or concerning certain courses of conduct, or perhaps certain devout observances, as being peculiarly helpful to salvation, or concerning various points of ecclesiastical policy, or the future fortunes of the Church. Some of these supposed visions or revelations may have been officially sanctioned by Rome or assumed as true in the acts of great councils, and may have regulated belief and practice during many ages. We speak hypothetically, yet not without considerable support of fact. Think how powerful the Virgin of Lourdes now is in the Church! Yet it is allowed that these revelations can never be defined as of faith, nor those who reject them excommunicated as heretics. The pressure of public opinion might make the lives of such skeptics a burden to them, but could not well drive them out of the Church. We cannot answer for what extravagant superstition may yet accomplish; but so far it has not accomplished this. Should such beliefs decline, or finally be given up universally, Catholic opinion and practice in various regions would be greatly modified; yet the essence of the faith would not have been touched, nor the doctrinal infallibility of

the Church discredited, since it is not as yet claimed by the Church that the gift of infallibility has been bestowed upon her for any other end than to unfold the truths divinely revealed through the prophets and apostles.

How far does Roman Catholicism claim unchangeableness for the Church, and how far does she admit the Church to be changeable? She claims unchangeableness in the following particulars: (1) That body of Christians adhering to Rome has never been suffered to deny any truth divinely revealed, or permanently to accept as of faith anything except what has been divinely revealed through apostles or prophets, received in early tradition, and accepted with substantial unanimity by the fathers. (2) The Church as above defined has never failed of a valid and legitimate episcopate and priesthood, gathered under a legitimate primacy. The episcopate, being incapable of renewal if lost, can never be interrupted; the primacy, being a jurisdiction, not an order, may be interrupted or confused, but has always, after such interruption or confusion, been recovered and authentically determined. (3) In matters of discipline and policy, which are not matters of faith, the Church, though depressed by human infirmity and often deeply stained by human sin, has, on the whole, been so guided as to advance the ends of the kingdom of God.

In all other particulars, such as the precise form and measure of ordinary papal jurisdiction, the methods of papal and episcopal election, the varying rank and authority of different bishoprics, the historical privileges of national Churches, the marriage or celibacy of the clergy, the communion in one or both species, the language to be used in divine worship, the particular forms of ritual, the greater or less veneration given to saints or images, the relative authority of local tradition, the greater or less emphasis laid on monastic seclusion and vows, the varying relations of the Church to the State, and many other matters, it is acknowledged that the Church may, and often should, change from age to age, from country to country, nay, often from diocese to diocese. In all these secondary matters, not imagined to be fixed by any institution of Christ, Rome is so far from priding herself on being unchangeable that she claims a flexibility far beyond that which she exemplifies in fact. In other words, on the unvarying foundation of faith,

tradition, and hierarchical succession, she claims an almost illimitable liberty of varying the superstructure of the Church, so that it may correspond with all the infinite varieties of the human race. Had Rome allowed as wide a range of liberty as she claims the right to allow, it is possible that there might never have been a break in either the East or the West. There are strenuous Roman Catholics who, while esteeming the East schismatical and the Protestant West heretical, seem not ill-inclined to put the main blame for both divisions on the Vatican itself.

There are two profoundly different tendencies in defining apostolic tradition. The elder view, and certainly much the more obvious, is this: Whatever doctrine is not found in the writings of any Church father down, say, to Gregory the Great, in the year 600, and in the East to John of Damascus, a century or two later, or, being found, is rejected by a part of those that are acknowledged as Fathers, cannot have been a part of the apostolic message. Therefore, even if reasonable, probable, or conducing to doctrinal completeness, nay, even if morally certain, it can never be defined as an article of faith. One who denies it may be very unreasonable, but he can never be heretical. On the other hand, in the course of the ages a great many opinions have gained prevalence in the Latin Church and become an integral part of its concrete Catholicism which are not found in the Scriptures, and which are either wholly absent from the fathers or only mentioned as speculative tenets, to be accepted or rejected at discretion. Now those that are especially devoted to these opinions not unnaturally, however unjustifiably, like to have them put under the shield of full ecclesiastical authorization and defined as articles of faith. This has resulted in the invention, in our own day, of the doctrine of "latent tradition." It assumes that the doctrines in question are wrapped up in some texts of Scripture which certainly do not appear to contain them, or have been buried in obscure nooks of the Church, or it may be in dark corners of some Roman basilica, and that it is competent for the gathered episcopate or for the pope to bring them out of this latency and to define them as binding on faith.

Here, as we see, we have two incompatible tendencies and principles. The former is the regulation of dogma by history.

The latter is the triumph of dogma over history, as it has been styled by its passionate champion, Cardinal Manning. In its final form it is embodied in the reply made by Pius IX to Cardinal Guidi, when the latter urged that separate papal infallibility had no support from tradition: "*La tradizione son io*" —"I am tradition." In other words, evidence is not to govern the establishment of doctrine, but irresponsible will. This principle of despotic lawlessness prevailed completely at the Vatican Council, which has been rightly called the "Vatican Mockery"—*ludibrium Vaticanum.* But it raised such a storm of indignation throughout the Christian world as frightened even the victors, and the next year Bishop Fessler, secretary of the pretended council, impelled, it is understood, by Pius himself, published an explanation which evacuates it of a great deal of its force.

We, of course, would fain assume, so long as it is possible, that manliness, independence, love of truth, knowledge, and the power of drawing from undoubted facts their necessary deductions have not finally perished out of the Roman Catholic Church, even under the nightmare of the Vatican Council, with its combination of idolatrous slavishness in the majority and blasphemous arrogance in its Roman lord. We should be glad to believe that this vast company of Christian churches, in which, as Luther says of it in his day, "many and mighty saints have remained under the pope," has not been providentially meant to sink into hopeless ignorance and servility, nor yet to break up into a number of warring schisms. Allowing this, what weapons are yet left in the Roman Catholic system of doctrines of which a more independent and evangelical temper may possibly avail itself to break down the present reign of curialistic despotism? We cannot well expect that at present the ecumenical character of the Vatican Council can be successfully called in question. The machinery of repression and suppression is too completely in the hands of its friends for this. Nevertheless, what is not possible to-day is sometimes accomplished to-morrow. Assuming, not as a fact, nor even as a brilliant probability, but as an abstract possibility, that, under a happy pontificate, there may yet appear sufficient resilient force in the Church to break the present yoke of terrorism and of pure subjective idolatry of the pope, what posi-

tions remain yet unforbidden which the better spirit can lay hold of to accomplish this result?

It can never be of faith that any particular council is ecumenical, since every council is an event occurring long after the apostles. Papal ratification cannot make it ecumenical, since the question is one of fact—contingent, not contained in original tradition, and therefore out of the range of even the pope's professed infallibility. If, as can be proved of the *Vaticanum* by all manner of evidence, a council is made up of voting members a large part of whom have no certain right to vote, while others have certainly no right to vote; if it is gathered in a hall in which four fifths of the members cannot understand the speeches; if its order of business and choice of officers are both withdrawn from its competence; if free discussion, by all manner of restrictive rules, is made impossible to it; if it is sternly refused access to the acts of a great preceding council, lest it should learn the full extent of its own prerogatives; if a great proportion of its members are so completely dependent on the *curia* as to be compelled by the argument of hunger to vote as this wills; if the civil authority, blended with the ecclesiastical, exerts a constant coercive power upon it; if the right, inherent in every governing bishop, to give witness to the tradition of his particular church is abridged; if the right of the council to consult with the most learned theologians of the Church is essentially hampered; if an independent minority is continually browbeaten by violent invectives of the pope and by an incessant succession of inflammatory popular agitations encouraged by him; if all the precedents of the great uncontested councils are set at naught; and if the free testimony of Catholic Christendom as to the real character of the council is intercepted by threats of excommunication against everyone who dares to state the facts as they are—then, by principles which Roman Catholicism itself has not yet ventured to deny in theory, however much it may belie them in practice, the Vatican Council has no right to be called ecumenical. Of course, if the Vatican Council should eventually be rejected (and councils whose formal claims are greatly superior in almost everything but numbers have been disowned by the Church) the doctrinal infallibility of the pope would go with it and would be hopelessly discredited. Pius

IX might then be anathematized for heresy, blasphemy, and intolerable tyranny, as Honorius I has been anathematized for simple heresy. Or, if a milder time spares his person, there will certainly be no occasion to spare his policy.

Indeed, even on Roman Catholic premises it is not certain that any Western councils have ecumenical claims. That haughtiest of the popes, Boniface VIII, did not profess to call more than seven councils ecumenical—those that had been acknowledged before the great breach of East and West in 1054. If the ultramontanes should urge that the East by obstinate schism has ceased to be a part of the universal Church, and that its bishops have thereby lost their right to sit in a universal council, it can be shown by a redundance of testimony that the earlier Church knew nothing of any such test of unity. Whether a bishop was at peace or at feud with Rome, he had equally a right to sit in a general council. The president of the first Council of Constantinople, Meletius of Antioch, was at the time out of communion with Rome; yet no one disputed his right to preside. Dying during the council, he was immediately canonized, and has for nearly fifteen hundred years stood alike in the Greek and in the Roman calendars. St. Chrysostom, as Father Puller points out, until his fifty-first year had never been for a day in communion with Rome; yet neither in his own estimation nor in that of the East had he ever lapsed from the unity of the Catholic Church. When already Bishop of Constantinople he at length made up the quarrel, yet by no submission, nor with any acknowldgment of wrong. Indeed, Rome, in spite of herself, cannot make thorough work of her assertion that the Greeks are out of the Catholic Church. She does not call them heretics; she has never dreamed of denying their orders; she has not denied that their bishops are legitimate pastors, having the power of the keys. Even lately she has sent formal congratulations to the Patriarch of Constantinople on his accession. The Greeks receive no Western councils and reject the *Vaticanum* with scorn; yet even now Rome does not venture to impugn their orthodoxy. She feels the consciousness of a common Catholicism. As Dr. Schaff says, pride, in the breast of Rome, has been often baffled in its aims by doctrinal conscientiousness and by the instincts of brotherhood.

On the other hand, the Greeks are perfectly ready to acknowledge that the Bishop of Rome is the primate of the universal Church. They do not acknowledge this preeminence as of divine right; but they accept it as an ancient and venerable historical development, having a significant connection even with Peter's primacy. As they represent especially orthodoxy, so they admit that Rome represents especially unity. They allow the inconveniences of being out of union with the central Church, and the advantages for energy of Christian action of being conjoined with it. If Anglicanism, for instance, should divide into several great contending masses we can see that the churches adhering to Canterbury would hold their heads the highest, especially if they were half the whole body. Yet Canterbury claims no divine right of presidency. Thus the Greeks do not dispute the grievousness of the breach with Rome. Yet they put the blame where it mainly belongs—on her intolerable haughtiness and untenable pretensions.

Supposing now that the historical spirit should at length get control in the Church, could it finally cast down these pretensions without destroying the sense of ecclesiastical identity? It could not, certainly, without destroying the Roman Catholic denomination. But that is a late thing. It really does not antedate the Council of Trent. The decisions of Trent, it is easy to see, are from beginning to end reactionary. Reaction against new views is not always unsound. It is often highly necessary in order to preserve deep truths and important traditions. The Reformation was not at all points wise or true. It let free the imprisoned evangelical consciousness of the North to blessed ends of freedom and faith and widening works of good. It let free also, of necessity, all manner of tumultuous unripeness of opinion and action, threatening forces of disintegration and anarchy. The doctrinal decisions of Trent, for a vast part of the world, have served essentially to keep Christianity from volatilizing itself into an impotent cloud. Yet unhappily the council fell under the prevailing control of the narrow-minded and frightened element, not of the large-minded and courageous. How very different the results might have been had the council been guided by men like Pole and Contarini, or even like Cajetan! There were men adhering

to Rome and high in ecclesiastical or civil trust who were well disposed to throw overboard the whole mass of mediæval rubbish and to give doctrinal explanations which, while distinctly Catholic, should allow a large range to theories that were shut out by the frightened fathers of Trent. Pole and Contarini, for instance, while decisively rejecting much of Luther's extravagance (polemical rather than strictly doctrinal), would have been glad to establish the doctrine of justification by faith in very much such a form as it appears under in the *Pauline Theology* of Professor Stevens. So deep were the divisions as to this great article that the bishops actually came to blows over it. Yet the Spaniards and Italians carried the day, and set up a mechanical and semipharisaical theory which neither the scriptural nor the spiritual apprehensions of Protestantism could possibly accept.

So as to purgatory. Rome favors the prevalent Protestant belief that the elect are made perfect at death, that the last remains of sin are purged away with the parting breath. Yet she has not prescribed this opinion as of faith; nor has Lutheranism or Anglicanism. The opinion, therefore, that even in the regenerate moral imperfection may often survive death, and may need in some form the providential discipline of pain for its extinction, is not really a point at issue between the Reformation as a whole and Catholicism. On the other hand, Rome prescribes as of faith that the departed elect, though now sinless, even in impulse, may be held for varying terms to meet the penal consequences of even forgiven sin. No one disputes this as to earthly life, and Rome maintains that in this the conditions of earthly life may survive the grave, though not the final judgment. This latter view Protestantism has rejected almost unanimously, yet less by logical necessity than by disgust at the coarse and hard legalism of its form. Nor is the belief that the communion of saints implies a benefit to the faithful departed from the intercessions of the living either involved in Protestantism or opposed to it. It lies outside the range of its essential principle. The question whether an unconverted soul can be regenerated after death is answered by Rome with an emphatic negative. What is known as the Andover view she repels as a deep error. She admits future expiation, but utterly rejects future probation. Trent has es-

tablished the doctrine of purgatory in mild and general terms, defining neither the nature and extent and duration of its pains, nor the mode or degree of certainty with which the intercessions of the Church avail for the mitigation of them. It also deprecates popular superstitions on the subject. But if it had been under a bolder control it would have laid the ax to the root of these superstitions, by abrogating or rigorously restricting private masses, by reintroducing the ancient usage of one eucharist for one day in one church, by abolishing all stipends for masses, and by declaring to all the Church that neither masses nor indulgences avail for the holy dead except so far as God, in his hidden wisdom, may see fit to regard them. This is the actual doctrine of Rome, but it needs an enlightening energy of proclamation to work against the magical superstitions of the untutored multitudes. All this Trent has failed to do. Happily, however, she did not set up doctrinal barriers against the possibility that it may be done by a future council truly ecumenical.

On one great point Trent, if not positively, was at least negatively, independent. Rome could not prevail on the council to set forth any theory of the papacy, or even to declare it of divine right. The fathers of the council deal with it as an august and ancient fact, and stop there. They declare that they do not mean to encroach upon the rights of the holy see, but they do not define these nor declare them invariable or even perpetual. The papacy, notwithstanding the great and, indeed, excessive awe with which it is regarded by the fathers of Trent, is evidently no more an absolutely substantial part of their Catholicism than it had been in that of the fathers of Constance.

Suppose, now, that the spirit of historical candor, which is really the plenary consciousness of Christ prevailing over the imperfect and partial apprehensions of his disciples (as admirably set forth of late by Principal Fairbairn), should gain control in the Roman Catholic Church. It is evidently making way within it, as it is throughout Christendom. What would be the result if it should become supreme? The result would evidently be to send Vaticanism and a great part of Tridentinism into the limbo of outworn and forgotten pretensions, along with the donation of Constantine, the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, the fable of Pope Joan, Adrian the Fourth's compact

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with the devil, and a thousand other fictions, some advancing, others disparaging, the papacy. The disappearance of all these errors, some of gradual growth, others violently obtruded upon the Church, would not interrupt the continuity of Catholicism, nor even of Roman Catholicism, regarded, not as a sect, but as the strongest exponent of tendency in the Christian Church. It would simply break up the artificial sectarian exaggeration of Romanism under which the latter has subsisted for the last three centuries. The majesty of the genuine Christian tradition would come out of this purifying process with new resplendency.

Meanwhile, in waiting for this good hour, what points of importance are still left open to free discussion, even since the *Vaticanum?* We mention some, as adduced by the Franciscan Chrismann. We give them as they occur in his book, without undertaking to classify them in the order of importance:

1. All postapostolic doctrines and miracles, and all postapostolic doctrines confirmed by miracles, however illustrious, merit at most only a human and variable faith.

2. The inferences from an article of faith, however clear, are not themselves articles of faith, unless the prior proposition is unintelligible without them.

3. A papal or conciliar definition of doctrine, even when legitimate and authoritative, is not irreversible, unless it sets forth a truth divinely revealed through the apostles and unanimously held in the early Church.

4. The Vulgate is, for all essential ends of doctrine, authentic, but, as Pope Leo XIII remarks in his recent encyclical, not in the sense that it is always an accurate translation of the originals.

5. Neither an individual man nor a plurality, even though all of them be fathers, canonized saints, and doctors of the Church, can establish any proposition as of faith unless supported by the universal consent of the early Church.

6. The Church is not infallible in teaching truths deduced only from reason, not from revelation.

7. The Church is not infallible in pronouncing any man a heretic, since she may have misunderstood his meaning.

8. The Church is not infallible in the enactment of merely ecclesiastical laws or ceremonies.

9. No particular council, diocesan, provincial, or national,

even if approved by the pope, is infallible, although a subsequent reception by the whole Church may make its decisions binding on faith.

10. Even an ecumenical council is not promised infallible assistance if negligent or precipitate in its action. The same reservation naturally applies to the pope.

11. The reasonings and allegations of a council or pope in defense of a doctrine are not a part of the doctrine and do not bind faith.

12. It is lawful to invoke the intercession of departed saints, but not obligatory; nor is it certain that this invocation of their intercession has any religious character, more than a similar request addressed to the living.

13. It is not a certainty of faith that the saints hear our prayers, still less that they infallibly secure the objects desired.

14. Veneration paid to images of Christ and the saints is lawful, but not obligatory.

15. Those who hold it unlawful to portray the Father, the Spirit, or the Trinity, do not sin against faith.

16. The veneration of relics is lawful, but not obligatory, and has no certainly religious value.

17. It is of faith that Christ has instituted all the seven sacraments, but not that he has instituted them all in his immediate earthly presence.

18. The indelible character of baptism, confirmation, and orders is not certainly a modification of the soul. It may only be an indefeasible right to the benefits contained in these sacraments, under due conditions.

19. It is lawful to believe that a sacrament is valid where the due rites are observed, with the purpose of an exterior celebration, even though the inward volition of the minister should wickedly contradict his outward act, so that the faithful are not dependent on the chances of his sincerity.

20. It is not of faith that the sacrifice of the eucharist is propitiatory in the same sense as that of the cross, nor that Christ's presence in it is local.

21. Although contrary to prevailing opinion, it is still lawful to maintain that he whose hatred of sin proceeds only from the fear of hell, and not from the love of God, cannot receive a valid absolution.

22. It is of faith that the Church, through indulgences, can remit arrears of canonical penance due to herself, but not that she can remit arrears of temporal punishment, on earth or in purgatory, due to God. And if she can it is not of faith that she can do this otherwise than *per modum suffragii*, that is, in the way of intercession, efficacious so far as God's infinite wisdom may decide.

23. It is not even rash to maintain that the inferior orders, from subdeacon down, are nonsacramental. It is rash, but not heretical, to maintain that the diaconate is nonsacramental. It is heretical to deny that the priesthood is sacramental.

24. It is probable, but not certain, that at least every believer has a guardian angel assigned him by God.

25. It is commonly, but not necessarily, believed that each soul undergoes a particular judgment immediately after death.

26. The place, severity, and duration of purgatorial pains are matters of free opinion.

27. It is not of faith to hold that there is literal fire in purgatory.

28. The coercive physical power of the Church is not an article of faith.

The notorious syllabus and accompanying encyclical are a later thing. It seems never to have been settled, even in the mind of Pius himself, whether they are to be viewed as binding on faith. John Henry Newman decidedly denies this. After publishing this view he was raised to the purple by Leo XIII. It appears, therefore, that Leo does not hold it as heretical to deny the conclusive force of the syllabus and encyclical. The Jesuitizing school goes much further than Chrismann, but its opinions are thus far not binding on faith.

Charles C. Starbuck

ART. II.—RECIPROCITY OF ART AND RELIGION.

THE art sentiment, like the religious instinct, is as universal as human intelligence. Savagery cannot sink below it, nor can civilization rise above it. No condition of ignorance or of education can eliminate it from the life and nature of men. The untutored savage who fantastically decorates his body, paints his tent, dyes with various colors his garments, gives grotesque fashion to his idol, or adds adornment to the tombs of his dead is as truly endowed with the universal art-feeling as the genius that creates a Parthenon, frescoes a Sistine, or paints a "Transfiguration." There is in man's nature something to which art makes an irresistible appeal. We have mental, if not moral, demands which art alone can meet, just as there is within our human intelligence that to which only poetry, music, or religion can appeal and minister. Truth is essentially one, though multiform. Science, nature, music, poetry, art, and religion are but different keys of the infinite organ of truth. A prayer, a psalm, a flower, a picture is each a partial expression, revelation, or interpretation of something even greater than itself, of something greater than ourselves—even the true, the beautiful, the perfect, the ideal, the divine.

Art, as a form of truth, an interpretation of the beautiful, or a symbolization of the spiritual and the divine, has always had a place and power among men. The art of a people, no less than their literature, science, law, and ethics, is an index of their culture, since it is a sincere expression of their taste and aspiration, the embodiment of their ideal. Moreover, as art is an index and manifestation of a people's æsthetic instinct and development, so it is also one of the most effectual mediums of enlightenment, one of the most powerful promoters of refined taste, elevated thought, and elegant manners. The art of Greece, no less than her literature; the works of Phidias, Apelles, and Praxiteles, no less than the epics of Homer, the dialogues of Plato, and the tragedies of Æschylus, were the measure of the greatness and splendor of Grecian civilization. Whether we study the progressive development of ancient or of modern peoples—of the Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, or of the Italians, Spaniards, French, Germans, Dutch,

and English—we shall find their art forever indicating their mental and moral, and even their social and political, tendencies as clearly and positively as do their science, their laws, and their letters.

The power of art is the power of the beautiful; but the philosophy of the power of the beautiful is not easily understood. Poets and artists, musicians and naturalists, prophets and sages have been the faithful apostles and exponents of the beautiful without fully comprehending its nature, as men have preached God the Infinite without knowing him to perfection. The world's philosophers, however, have given us some very worthy and inspiring ideas of the nature and mission of beauty. Ruskin (and, if we may claim that Plato's "absolute beauty" was spiritual and personal, then the "divine" Plato, with Ruskin) makes all beauty typical of divine attributes, an emanation of spiritual beauty, a symbol and expression of it. Hegel puts an "idea" into every form, and makes beauty to be the shining forth of that "idea" through a sensuous medium. Kant taught that the highest meaning of beauty is the symbolization of moral good. Socrates also taught that nothing is beautiful which is not good, and nothing good but what is at the same time beautiful. He further taught that what is good and beautiful must necessarily be useful. Herder and, before him, Plato advanced the doctrine that the beautiful carries with it the idea of perfection, the absolute, and the ideal. These theories all seem to have a rich measure of meaning for us in a consideration of the reciprocal relations of art and religion. If we claim that art is an interpretation of nature, we do not find ourselves in conflict with Goethe's statement, that beauty is both the final principle and the highest aim of art, since art, indeed, interprets nature for no other purpose than to more fully open our eyes to what is therein beautiful, perfect, and thus most adequately symbolic of the divine.

In its æsthetic ministry art has come to serve religion; and therein it attempts to interpret, not only nature, but also the supernatural in the ever-fascinating formularies of the beautiful. Art has found its loftiest themes, its holiest inspirations, and its most sympathetic encouragement in religion. Trace the history of art to as remote a period as we will, wherever we find it in those earliest endeavorings, in those first aspirings

and promises, it will be related to and dependent upon the prevailing religion. Whether it be the rude art of the Pueblos, Toltecs, or Aztecs of ancient and prehistoric America, or the first crude expressions of art-feeling and taste in Egypt, Greece, or Babylonia, it will have a distinct and an entirely religious character. Religion, art, and music seem to have had so remote an origin in human history that the student fails to discover the time when they did not exist and flourish. From their earliest developments to the present time they have been inseparable, reciprocal in their benign ministrations and sympathies, and cooperative in their ennobling mission to mankind. One may very easily trace the sciences to their beginnings. Astronomy, geology, philology, ethnology, mathematics, and logic, as formulated sciences, all have a clearly defined origin. Literature, likewise, and political government belong within the limits of comparatively well-known dates of history. But religion and art have a history back of history, and their beginnings are too remote for definite date. It can only be said that with man began religion, and with religion began art.

Our only reliable source of information regarding the religions of the prehistoric races of America is the art which still remains in the ruins of Arizona, New Mexico, Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru. The ancient architecture, pottery, and sculpture to be found there all bear the impress of a religious origin, and all have a religious meaning. Even their idols, which remind us of the idols of the Assyrians and Babylonians, and at times of those of the Chinese and Japanese, are, like all idols, a union of art and religion—art in its crudity and religion in its crudity. There is in them an imperfect taste, an imperfect worship, and an incomplete and inadequate, if not wholly false, expression of truth. But even the idol represents a people's religious and artistic endeavorings. It tells of the mind's groping after the light of truth and God, and seeking, the best way it knew, the solution of the mysterious problem of human destiny. While the art of vanished races gives us a knowledge of their religion, we see therein that their religion inspired their art, and thus became the power which, above all others, perpetuated their names.

The religious sentiment, however, has inspired higher forms of art, even the highest. The rude altar by the wayside where

migratory tribes have offered an evening or morning sacrifice is an expression of both art and religion—religion creating the art, and art aiding religion and stimulating the spirit of worship in kindly, almost inspired, reciprocity. When the tribes combine, cease their wanderings, and settle into a social and political community in some genial clime and fertile locality, the altar becomes more permanent and more artistic. About it rises the temple, and the temple grows in beauty and grandeur, becoming in its turn more and more artistic. Taste for the beautiful in form and proportion develops with the development of the material symbols of worship, which have been created from desire to express the heart's religious sentiments in forms, altars, temples, and ceremonies presumably most attractive and acceptable to the eyes of the Creator of nature's beauty. From this center of artistic expression radiates an æsthetic influence, until all the departments of human life seek the ministry of art, which thus becomes an evangel of universal refinement, culture, and purity. When we advance to a consideration of the art of which the highest civilizations have been able to boast, it will be found that religion is still its creative life, and that the most perfect development of art becomes, not only a school of taste, but even more conspicuously a school of ethics and worship.

It is significant that atheism never created, never inspired, a single great form or expression of the sublime and beautiful for the refinement of human taste, the encouragement of human life, the promotion of human happiness, and the development of human righteousness. Atheism has not inspired a single one of the greatest poems, orations, constitutions, or masterpieces of art. These superlative achievements in literature, music, law, and art would have been forever impossible but for the creative and inspiring influence of religion. Heine one day stood before the cathedral of Amiens with a friend, who, after studying the imposing structure with awe and wonder, turned and asked the poet why we were not able to build such edifices in our day. Heine replied: "My dear Alphonse, men in those olden days had convictions. We moderns have only opinions, and something more than a mere opinion is necessary to the erection of such a Gothic cathedral." It has taken something more than mere opinions to write the great songs, com-

pose the great oratorios, found the great constitutions, fight the great battles, make the great discoveries, and create the glorious art which have promoted freedom and civilization. It has taken convictions—strong, wise, authoritative, and religious convictions.

That art has been degraded to ignoble uses of vice and superstition will not be denied; but like degrading uses have been made of literature, music, science, and even religion. And, if a vicious abuse of art on the part of the base and sensual would justify the pure and good in repudiating its ministry and denying its refining, elevating character, then on the same ground must the righteous of this earth repudiate literature, science, music, and religion itself. We speak of high art—art high in its purpose and aim, sincere, expressive of the best in the mind and life of the peoples producing it. In all such art we find religion as its very soul and life.

When we study the art of the *Renaissance* in the sculpture, painting, and architecture of Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, in the works of Brunelleschi, Angelo, Bramante, Raphael, and Da Vinci, behold, it is all intensely religious. The religious feeling made it possible, developed it, nourished it, glorified it. But the Parthenon at Athens had as religious an origin as St. Peter's of Rome, nay, as theological, as sectarian, an origin. It was to the Greek religion what St. Peter's is to the Roman Catholic religion. What meanings, moreover, have these statues of classic art-creation—Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Minerva, Jupiter? These are the gods and goddesses of the Greek Pantheon or the deified heroes and heroines of the Greek mythology. They are as religious in origin and meaning as the statues of Moses and David created by Angelo. It is quite remarkable that men should ever denounce the religiousness, the theology, of the art of the *Renaissance*—the art of Angelo, Raphael, Angelico, Titian, and Da Vinci—and praise what they call classic art, when there is no art in existence more completely religious and theological than classic art. Phidias, Apelles, and Praxiteles expressed their ideas of the gods in quite as narrow and sectarian a spirit as did ever Angelico express his ideas of singing angels, or Raphael his idea of the Madonna, or Angelo his conception of Christ upon the judgment throne. The same is true in literature. Hesiod is

as theological in the "Theogony" as Moses in Genesis. Homer is as theological in the "Iliad" as Dante in the "Divine Comedy." Callimachus is as theological in the "Hymns" as David in the Psalms. And thus religion has dominated the highest poetry as well as the highest art.

We need not limit our survey to any single age or race in studying the reciprocity of religion and art, but shall find that in all ages and among all peoples they have been very intimately related. The stone lions or pumas of New Mexico, carved more than ten centuries ago by the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians and still worshiped; the temple of serpent-shaped pillars at Tula, the pyramid of the sun, and the sculptured images of the sun god, rain god, and god of air and wisdom, the work of the Toltecs who settled at Tula as early as the sixth century, and tradition says the second; the ruins of the holy city of Palenque and of Aké, Izamal, and Chichen-Itza, with the well-preserved remains of statues and of temples, tombs, and palaces, adorned with bas-relief of a high order of workmanship, whose age has been variously estimated at from one to two thousand years—all show the relation of art to religion in the early barbarisms of America.

If we study the art remains of Babylonia and Assyria of thirty centuries ago we shall find the religions of those ancient peoples—the worship of Bel, the sun god, in particular—preserved on tile and stone, indicating that their art and religion had a common origin and a reciprocal relation one to the other. In the awe-inspiring art of old Egypt we find art the helpmeet of religion. Unearth her buried glory, contemplate the imposing relics of her vanished greatness, translate the significance of those stately columns and huge statues that stand to tell the ages of the ancient grandeur of the Nile. In these is the record of Egypt's God-seeking history. Here are her sighs and hopes and fears and prayers, her faith and aspirations and character, preserved in magnificent artistic expression. Those mighty temples and enduring pyramids cannot be interpreted except from a religious standpoint. They could have had no other origin than the people's notions of life and death, destiny and God. Let those pyramids be recognized as only magnificent tombs; yet it will appear that the old Egyptian ideas of death and of the future state gave rise, not only to their elabo-

rate funeral rites and their careful preparation of the dead for burial, but also to the artistic decorations of mummy cases and sarcophagi and the stupendous magnitude of the tombs of their great kings. The temples of Abu-Simbel, Edfoo, and El Karnak speak even in their splendid ruins of the ancient reciprocity and cooperation of art and religion. Egyptian religion, whether polytheistic or monotheistic, and in both her Theban and Memphite systems, gave origin to Egyptian art; and that art set forth to her own people, and even to all coming ages, the faith that was held by that mighty and mysterious race.

Turn to the spot where ancient culture reached its perfection and beauty attained its highest and noblest expression in sculpture, painting, and architecture. The history of art in Greece begins with the history of Athens. There, too, art had a religious origin. Whether introduced by Cecrops or Erechtheus, the worship of Minerva, or Athene, gave the city its name; and as early as B. C. 1400 a statue of Minerva was there erected as an object of worship. In Homer's time, say B. C. 900, art must have advanced to a very high state of perfection. The poet's description of the shield of Achilles, in the eighteenth book of the "Iliad," would certainly indicate a knowledge of sculpture, engraving, and enameling in various colored metals, if not of painting. That architecture was carried to great magnificence in building may be learned from the poet's description of the palace of Priam:

> Raised on arch'd columns of stupendous frame—
> O'er these a range of marble structure runs,
> The rich pavilions of his fifty sons,
> In fifty chambers lodg'd; and rooms of state
> Oppos'd to those, where Priam's daughters sate.
> Twelve domes for them and their loved spouses shone,
> Of equal beauty, and of polish'd stone.

Paris also has his palace:

> Himself the mansion rais'd, from ev'ry part
> Assembling architects of matchless art.

If Homer is not guilty of an inexcusable anachronism, then the shield of Achilles and the palaces of Priam and Paris were possible creations of Greek art in the thirteenth, or even the fifteenth, century B. C. Homer is coming to be recognized as the founder of the composite Olympian religion. In his

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epic the gods of the Greek Pantheon are familiar with art; and from his day, if not from some day far more remote, art was inseparable from the Olympian system. By Homer's teaching the handicrafts and arts were the gifts of the gods. The progress, no less than the genesis, of art in Greece was religious; and when it reached its climax of perfection in Athens, Phidias consecrated his genius to the gods—that is, to religion, as he understood it. The noblest productions of this incomparable artist were his statues of Jupiter and Minerva and his unrivaled sculptures in the Parthenon, dedicated to Minerva, the patron goddess of Athens. Apelles, too, the Raphael of Greece, consecrated his genius to the gods and made his glowing pencil teach the faith of the elegant Greeks.

We can understand Saracenic art only from the standpoint of Mohammedanism. That art takes character from the religion of the Koran, even in its very limitations. Beautiful and often imposing as was the architecture with which the Moors embellished Spain, reaching its climax in the chaste elegance of the Alhambra, noble as were the mosques which shrined the symbols of their faith, the Saracens could not be great sculptors and painters, for they were forbidden to represent in art the form of any living being. Mohammedan architecture, however, is a very significant illustration of our theme, since it sets forth all that the Moslem religion can do for art and all that art can do for the Moslem religion. The limitations of the Mohammedan religion determine the limitations of Saracenic art. What we have said relative to the reciprocity of religion and art in Greece, Egypt, Babylonia, Mohammedan Europe and Asia, and ancient America, will apply to India, China, Japan, and ancient Palestine, where forms of religion have originated and given birth and character to forms of art.

Modern art found its origin in religion, if not in theology. It was not the offspring of superstition. It was born of faith in the Infinite, of a hope of immortality, of a sincere struggling of the human soul toward God. As soon as Christianity became a creative, regenerative, and formative power in society new literatures, new laws, new sciences, and a new art began to appear and to develop toward perfection. With the decline and fall of the Roman empire, if not much earlier, say, with the Roman subjugation of the artistic Greeks, came not

only the decline, but the almost total annihilation, of original art; and for a thousand years or more the world was deprived of enlightenment. Not a great song was sung, not a great philosophy was propounded, not a great work of art was created. Letters, art, and ethics all seemed to have become barbarianized. Ignorance and superstition prevailed where once had triumphed civilizations splendid with laws and letters, poetry and philosophy, art and arms.

There came, however, a morning to break the intellectual gloom of the Dark Ages—a morning of freedom, of emancipation. The star that heralded the coming day was Dante's wondrous song. Almost simultaneously with that poetic genius awoke the beautiful genius of art in the soul of Giotto. Giotto was perhaps the first to break away from the barbarism of Byzantine art. He was the disciple of Dante; and thus religion, through its noblest exponent in the fourteenth century, gave inspiration to the soul of him who was to become the herald, if not the founder, of modern art. Giotto was the forerunner of that generation of mighty geniuses whose creations in sculpture, architecture, and painting raised modern art to a rivalry with the noblest triumphs of the classic ages.

What is the leading characteristic of this art of the *Renaissance*, this art of Cimabue, Giotto, Brunelleschi, Bramante, and Michael Angelo, this art of Raphael, Titian, Correggio, and Da Vinci? It is religious; it is Christian. Christianity creates it, develops it, patronizes and supports it. It was the highest ambition of the old masters to make art the handmaid of religion; hence the religious character of their great works. Fra Angelico goes to his work in the spirit of a saint and prays for divine inspiration. The tears roll down his cheeks while he paints angelic forms on gloomy walls. Michael Angelo gives seventeen years of his time to building St. Peter's Cathedral, refusing all financial remuneration, and toiling on with his splendid genius to glorify God in the achievements of his art. The frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, which inaugurated a new era in the history of art, drew their inspiration from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. They tell the Mosaic story of the creation and of the antediluvian world, portray the majestic figures of the Hebrew prophets, and then move forward to the end of time and depict the grandeur and solemnity of the

last judgment. The Sistine Chapel is full of the spirit of Christianity, glorified with scriptural truth. Angelo was a devout disciple of Savonarola, the reformer of the *Renaissance*, and a student of Dante, whose genius, character, and teachings were his inspiration in art. Angelo gave character to the art of the *Renaissance*, which thus became lofty, sublime, and Christian. Raphael caught his highest inspirations from Angelo and consecrated his matchless genius to religious uses. It must be admitted that the art of that time set forth in some instances what have come to be looked upon as errors, if not superstitions. But the religion of that time, while containing the sublimest truths of Christianity, also tolerated and taught many unverified traditions and fables. Art could not be nobler than the religion which gave it life. What is true in religion inspires what is true in art, and what is false in art comes from what is false in the religion which inspires it.

As Christianity has inspired art, so Christian art has glorified Christianity. It has set forth her doctrines, portrayed her saints, and even her very God and Saviour. Limited only by the necessary restrictions of her powers, art has been a teacher of things divine. It has robed religion in loveliness and crowned her white brow with jewels of beauty. It has reared the noblest structures that adorn the earth to her honor and service. Not to science, not to letters, not to philosophy, not to liberty, not to nature, not to art itself, but to religion has art dedicated its most glorious achievements, whether in painting, in sculpture, or in architecture.

While we might instructively study the reciprocity of art and science, or art and philosophy, or art and poetry, yet we shall not be able to find that close relationship, that intimate, enduring, eternal interaction that we find universally existing between art and religion. It is not remarkable that a people of artistic tastes and genius should possess the poetical spirit. There is poetry in all true art, as there is art in all true poetry. Both are largely the offspring of the religious feeling and of a love of the beautiful, and they both minister to the æsthetic, the imaginative, and the moral in man. It could hardly be that an unpoetical people should ever become distinguished for their art tastes or art productions, and it may easily be imagined that a race capable of producing a "Laocoön" could produce an

"Ædipus," and a race that could write an "Iliad" could build a Parthenon. It may be said that a nation's art will equal its poetry, and its poetry its art. This may be seen in a comparison of Greek art with Greek poetry, of Latin art with Latin poetry, and of Italian art with Italian poetry. Homer and Phidias belong to the same race, as do Dante and Michael Angelo, Petrarch and Raphael, Shakespeare and Turner, Goethe and Dürer, Molière and Millet.

It is singular, however, and worthy of notice, that while a people capable of great art are capable of great poetry, the great art and great poetry rarely come together. The chisel and the lyre are not heard at the same time. The Parthenon and the "Iliad" are not twin-born of genius; neither were the "Divine Comedy" and the "Last Judgment," nor "Lear" and "The Slave Ship." Homer, Æschylus, and Pindar were through singing before Apelles, Phidias, and Praxiteles produced their masterpieces. While Dante and Petrarch were still vocal there was as yet no high Italian art; and while England was glorious with Sidney, Spenser, Jonson, Shakespeare, and Milton her art genius was still slumbering. Dürer, Rembrandt, and Van Dyck painted without a highly poetical accompaniment. We admit, indeed, an exception in France, where Molière was contemporaneous with Claude Lorrain; but not in Spain, for Cervantes passes away ere "Murillo paints the crescent underneath Madonna's feet." But it will be found that religion and art never part company. Art declines with religion, and with it revives. They are companions in all their trials and triumphs, encouraging one another, ministering to one another, upbuilding and inspiring one another, and together giving light and hope and truth to men.

Nothing in the entire range of art history is more suggestive and interesting than the reciprocal relations of art and Christianity. It will not satisfy the thoughtful mind to simply recognize the influence of art upon pagan religion and the reciprocal influence of pagan religion upon art. The most spiritual of all religions, the inspired, the heavenly, the divine religion, has employed art as one of the most efficient mediums for the communication of divine truth to the hearts of men. The first developments of the Christian religion were allied with the first developments of Christian art. Why should not

God reveal himself through inspired art as well as through inspired oratory and literature? Art has given an element of influential power to all sacred symbolism. The beautiful has taught men of the true and divine. If God has constructed the universe on scientific and mathematical principles, has he not also fashioned and adorned it on artistic principles of symmetry, grace, and beauty? If nature tells us that the Infinite mind is rational it also tells us that it is æsthetic; if mathematical, then also artistic. If science so interprets nature that we conceive a more worthy idea of the divine intelligence, is it not the mission of art, in its interpretation of nature, to also increase our knowledge and our love of God?

The Infinite wisdom employed art in setting forth a revelation of his promises and his will to mankind through his chosen people. Nothing remains to us of the art of the Hebrews. They had but little. In the development of the monotheistic idea God saw fit to separate worship as far as possible from all art that had been associated with idolatry or that might tempt an uncultured people into the worship of images. But as the Hebrews advanced in civilization, after they had passed beyond the formative state and had come to be a nation, with a system of laws and government, with a literature, and with tastes for beauty, they were permitted to employ art as a religious teacher. All the art the Hebrews ever did employ, whether native or foreign, was devoted to the service of religion, and in it, as in Hebrew poetry and prophecy, the saving hope of the world was set forth. It was Messianic in its significance. The tabernacle in the wilderness, the ark of the covenant, the golden cherubim were all artistic symbols of spiritual things. All the art displayed in the ark of the covenant, that instrument of storied beauty and of untold value, was consecrated to the preservation of a providential history and to the prefiguration of the promised Messiah, our Lord Jesus Christ. In that memorial and prophecy in gold the world has been more deeply interested than in all the bronze or marble or ivory forms that have given immortal fame to Egypt or to Greece.

But we find the perfection of Hebrew art in the temple that stood on Zion, the house of cedar and gold, "beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth." Like every great triumph in architecture which has graced the globe, that temple was

the embodiment of a religious sentiment and the center of a religious system. In one respect, that is, as a production of art, it was to the Jews what the temple of El Karnak was to the old Egyptians, what the temple of Diana was to the Ephesians, what the Parthenon was to Athenians, and what the Pantheon was to the Romans—the nation's greatest architectural achievement, and that for which they will longest be remembered in the history of art. It must be kept in mind that all these structures were religious. It may be doubted whether any other sentiment in man has been strong enough or authoritative enough to make possible the existence of such beautiful and costly temples. The love of philosophy has never inspired such artistic conceptions nor prompted men to the liberality and self-sacrifice necessary to the construction of a Parthenon or a Solomon's temple. The love of letters, of science, or of worldly amusements never found expression in edifices so costly and noble; nay, even the love of law, of country, or of art itself never created, never built, such piles of marble, grace, and grandeur. These edifices are the visible expression of man's prayers and confessions, his faith, his hope, his awe of death and longing for immortality, his ideas of eternity and his need of God. They are the deepest and loftiest, the most pathetic and commanding, the gentlest and boldest, the most beautiful and sublime thoughts that have moved the hearts of men and controlled the history of races. They are in cedar and gold, in marble and ivory, with graceful and majestic columns, with sculptured frieze and swelling dome. They are beautiful symbols of national religion.

The temple of Solomon stood on Zion, gleaming with prophecy. All its glory and costliness, all the pomp and splendor of its services spake of Messiah as prophet had never spoken, as poet had never sung. The ages speed by. The fullness of time ushers in the fulfillment of the old prophecies. The Christ appears, the flowering culmination of prophetic Judaism. Paganism falls to ruin. Out of the *débris* rises a new order of things, a new heaven and a new earth. When, after a transitional age of long duration, art once more rises to fill the world with forms of beauty, new ideals take the place of the old. Egyptian art, Greek art, Roman art, Hebrew art, Assyrian art, give way to the new art—to Christian art. And now art, which

in the old Greek days had been a speculation, in the old Egyptian days a mystery, in the old Hebrew days a prophecy, becomes in these new days an evangel. It is consecrated to Christ. It begins to preach. It preaches from the frescoes of convent and chapel, from the glowing canvas and the breathing stone, from bronze gate and marble *campanile*, from lofty spire and swelling dome. It preaches the story of Bethlehem from the canvas of Correggio; it preaches of the Holy Child and of the transfiguration from the easel of Raphael; it preaches of the last supper from the brush of Leonardo; it preaches of the crucifixion from the pictures of Guido Reni and Albert Dürer; it preaches of the resurrection and the final judgment from the magnificent frescoes of Michael Angelo. Poetry, music, and art have all contributed beautiful expression to the teachings of divine truth. What David sings in the Psalms Solomon builds into the temple; what Dante expresses in a great poem Angelo expresses in a great fresco; what Raphael sets forth in a glorious painting Handel sets forth in a glorious oratorio; what Milton celebrates in a sublime epic Sir Christopher Wren immortalizes in a grand cathedral. And the supreme homage of what is beautiful in them all is paid to "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Son of man."

The classical age was dominated by mythological inspiration, the *Renaissance* by theological, or Christian and scriptural, inspiration. But in the development of the art feeling true artists came to see the demand existing for an interpretation not only of gods and goddesses, angels, saints, martyrs, and divinities, but also of common men and common life, of the physical realities of nature, as well as the spiritual idealities of the supernatural. They came to see that the events of history, the sports and pastimes, the sorrows and burdens of daily life, the beauty of woman, the toil of man, and the sweetness of childhood were all susceptible of artistic interpretation. So there came to the easel such masters as Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Velasquez, Holbein, and Reynolds, who gave us wonderful interpretations of the human face. Paulus Potter, Troyon, Van Marcke, Jacque, and Rosa Bonheur find something for art to interpret in sheep and pastures where they graze. Landscape assumes beauty and glory in the eyes of Claude, Turner, Constable, Dupré, Rousseau, Daubigny, and Corot. For a time the angels,

saints, and martyrs of theological art are forgotten, and we see divinity in the trees and lakes, in the skies and woods and fields. A spiritual voice is ever saying to us, "Behold the fowls of the air," "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow;" and we catch the devout spirit of Him who walked by the sea and through the cornfields, who sat by the well, and who went up into the mountain to pray.

The least artistic objects apparently in the world, the poor man without an ornament, humbly clad, and at his toil, the peasant woman without a jewel, the peasant child without a ribbon, the peasant cottage without a picture, all at once begin to call upon art for interpretation; and Millet paints the pathos of the working life, the poetry of toil, the saints of the field, the madonnas of the cottage, the angels of industry. Jozef Israels finds the same path and gives to a humble Dutch interior, where a woman bends at her sewing, with a little child exulting in a new rag doll or a fresh slice of bread, a fascination beyond the silks and satins of a Watteau or the waxen finish and sensuous beauty of a Bouguereau. Jules Bréton, too, belongs to this class, in whom the honest and industrious peasantry of this world find just and sympathetic friends. These artists show us the humanity, nay, the divinity of toil, the sacredness of life, and the struggle, pathos, endurance, and grandeur of it.

The artists of the last fifty years have been moving away from the classical and theological ideals, and have been more generally than ever before seeking their inspiration from natural, historical, and common life sources. But that does not mean that art is becoming irreligious, that it is losing sight of the divine. It is simply finding more divinity, more truth and beauty, more love and life in this world than ever, and in a greater variety of form and revelation. We must insist that the truth of art, the truth of nature, the truth of life, and the truth of religion are still in perfect harmony, and forever must be. It is not necessary to paint simply angels, madonnas, saints, martyrs, and crucifixions to be religious in spirit. He who, in song or picture or statue, shows the divine meanings of nature and the profound, sincere, godlike workings of human mind and heart; he who makes the lily tell its white mystery; he who sets the stars singing of the worlds above; he who hides mightier philosophies than Plato's in the trees of the forest,

and the harvests of the summer, and the waves of the ocean, and the dimples of a child's sweet face, and the wrinkles on industry's honest brow, and the light that comes through the hollyhocks into the poor widow's cottage window, has as much religion to teach as those old masters who peopled the ceilings of stately cathedrals with martyrs and angels, prophets and madonnas. Millet preaches as religiously as Correggio; and Raphael's "Transfiguration" has not more of the true religious sentiment and the Christ spirit than Millet's "Gleaners" or "Sower" or "Angelus." This master genius of Barbazon acknowledged that he drew his inspiration from the Bible. "I find in it all that I do," said he to his old teacher, the village priest. The spirit of the Bible, of the Christ, sent him to paint the pathos of honest poverty and the virtue of patient toil. We find modern art going where the Nazarene went for inspiration—first to the Scriptures, full of the love of God; then to the mountains, lakes, fields, to the homes of men, to the places where manhood struggles forth into heroism, where convictions become great duties, and where purposes become noble achievements. Never was there more truth in man's religion, never more religion in art.

We may look for a higher, nobler art than ever as men cultivate a purer, more spiritual religion, a religion that consists in love for truth, love for beauty, love for perfection, love for purity, love for humanity, love for God. No great art is possible to a mind that is closed to the sublime truths of religion. How narrow are the limitations of the mind that has no God, no immortality, no outlook beyond horizons and stars, no aspirations beyond a grave! How grand are the possibilities of genius strong-eyed and genuine enough to see far into the everlasting depth of the skies, and find glorious destinies beyond what seems to be in the infinite all that must be and that is! It was Daubigny, when dying, who said, "I am going to see if Corot has found any new motif for a landscape." His art must be immortal who looks so far beyond. There was religion in the thought that immortality still encourages the art genius; and love of art made the hope of immortality sublime.

F. W. Bristol.

ART. III.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN HER RELATION TO THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.

INCIDENT upon the emancipation of January 1, 1863, there were turned out upon this country four million human beings who were afterward accorded all the rights and privileges of citizenship, with not so much as the remotest qualification for their exercise. They were mostly homeless, destitute, forsaken, ignorant, immoral. In a republic, as in no other form of government, is such a condition of its citizens to be deplored. In a monarchy the power is vested in one person, and from him, as from a common center, it proceeds to all that are beyond. Whatever be his intellectual and moral attainments, they will materially determine the character of the government over which he rules. But in a republic the whole order is changed. Instead of power proceeding from the center to the circumference, it proceeds from the circumference to the center, the outward manifestations which we perceive being but the rebound of that power. Such a government is "of the people, for the people, and by the people." To elevate it it is necessary, not merely to elevate a favored individual or class, but to elevate the masses, from whom representatives are chosen and with whom rests the sole and absolute power of the ballot.

It, therefore, became an early and interesting question, upon the emancipation of such multitudes of slaves, what should be done with them. Some proposed that they be colonized in some State or Territory of our own land, where, in a community by themselves, they might enact and execute their own laws, educate and Christianize their own people, labor and save, rule and be ruled, to their hearts' content. But to this it was objected that the South could not spare them. Having depended upon their labor so long, it could not immediately, if ever, adapt itself to a new situation. An evidence of the force of this objection was seen a few years ago in the panic caused in Mississippi by the attempted exodus of the negroes to Kansas, the whites being compelled to stand in arms upon the banks of their streams to drive them back. It was objected further that the negroes could not do without the South. Having been so long under the care and guidance of their masters, they

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had become improvident and dependent. Besides, the climate of the South was better suited to them than that of any other region suggested. Indeed, to have colonized them anywhere would have been prejudicial to their interests and to ours.

Others proposed that they should be summarily shipped to Africa, the land from which they came. But this, besides being unprincipled and presumptuous, would have been exceedingly expensive. It would have been unprincipled in that it would have been in express violation of the golden rule. It would have been an attempt to impose upon another continent what we believed to be a menace to ours. It would have been presumptuous in that we did not own a foot of Africa, and yet presumed to land four million people there, who have since increased to eight million. But even had it been right and proper we should have found the cost of transportation to be immense. If we should send out each day for a year a ship bearing a burden of five hundred souls we should still fall short of the present natural increase of the negroes. We should find that the expenses accruing from the loss of the labor of even these 182,500, the number so transported, the feeding of them before and during their passage, as well as the caring for them immediately upon their arrival in Africa, the payment of agents to supervise the work at home and abroad, the chartering and managing of so many vessels, together with other incidentals, to say nothing of frauds, would require an immense outlay of money. So that, in whatever light we view the question of the forcible removal of the colored man, we find such removal to be impracticable.

The only thing that can be done with the negro that is at once both feasible and humane is to educate and Christianize him at home. Such a view was early entertained by those who, independent of all prejudice, properly conceived of the necessities of the case and were willing to adapt themselves to their new, though unpleasant, surroundings. But in the way of this there has stood:

1. The illiteracy of the South. Though she represents but one third of our entire population she contains two thirds of all our illiteracy. Of the two million voters in the entire country that can neither read nor write one million and a third are in the South. An exclusively physical labor and the want

of intellectual advantages have conduced to illiteracy among the blacks, while physical inactivity and a consequent mental sluggishness have conduced to the same result among the Southern whites.

2. The prejudice that grew out of that illiteracy. The Southerners believed the African to be an inferior order of being, by nature doomed to servitude, and that, if educated, he would refuse to labor and be generally intractable. Hence, they opposed his education and illtreated those who sought to advance it. While they rejoiced over the work of Moffat, Livingstone, and others in Africa, some refused beef in their shambles, bread in their bakeries, groceries, fuel, and clothing in their stores to the humble missionary to the negro of the South, who did the work of their fields and kitchens or was their bosom companion in the nursery and playground.

3. The poverty of the South. By the emancipation of their slaves the Southern people lost at least $2,000,000,000. In the support of their army they lost $2,000,000,000 more. They also lost immense amounts by the destruction of their property. In addition to this, upon their readmission into the Union they were equally taxed with us for the liquidation of our national war debt. So that, however educated, unprejudiced, and willing they might have been, they were financially unable to assume the work themselves of uplifting the negro, or even to assist in it to any appreciable extent.

Whence, then, has come the support of this movement? It has come almost exclusively from the North. The Christian Churches of the North, through their Freedmen's Aid Commission, dispensed charities, opened schools, employed teachers, manned pulpits, and did other work of lasting honor to the cause they jointly represented. Though we, as Methodists, have today a purely sectarian organization, it must be remembered that our society was not formed because we had ceased to be fraternal, for as late as 1864, when other Churches were withdrawing, our General Conference, unwilling to follow their example, officially approved the undenominational movement. But, believing that the time had come when the different branches of the Christian Church, following their own methods and working in their own interests, could do more apart than together, the wisdom of which belief we have since seen, the Churches

continued to withdraw from the Commission until we were compelled to follow. And thus, of necessity, and not by choice, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in the city of Cincinnati, August 6, 1866.

Of the work of this society during the twenty-seven years of its existence we have every cause to be justly proud. No other Church has met with such persistent opposition in the South. The ill feeling begotten by the memorable action of the General Conference of 1844, whereby Bishop Andrew, a slaveholder by marriage, was suspended from the further exercise of episcopal functions in our Church, which action resulted in the immediate withdrawal of the whole Southern slaveholding membership from us, grew with its growth and strengthened with its strength, so that in 1866, when we attempted to reenter its territory, the opposition we encountered was determined and universal. But opposition is no real obstacle to progress. When the Christian Church was persecuted most she flourished best. "Off with their heads," cried Cæsar; "we will soon put an end to Christianity." Governors and proconsuls hastened to obey his orders; and, as if afraid that simple decapitation would not suffice, the most cruel and revolting tortures were invented. Saints were dragged at the feet of wild horses, were sawn asunder, were flayed alive, were burned at the stake, and were even encased in skins and daubed with pitch and set afire to light up cruel Nero's gardens. They were left to rot in dungeons, and were made a public spectacle to all men in the amphitheater. Bears crushed them to death, lions tore them to pieces, and angry bulls tossed them aloft upon their horns. And yet Christianity continued to spread. Men even pressed to the judgment seat and asked the privilege and honor of being permitted to die for Christ. Religious experience was never stronger. As frankincense must be crushed before it will emit perfume, so the Church must be attacked before it will develop strength or manifest its graces.

As in the early, so in the latter days of Christianity opposition has shown itself to be favorable to progress. Had it not been for the opposition we encountered we might have been to-day, so many are the demands upon us, a Church of minor importance in the South. But we early found that to succeed there at all we must increase our facilities and concentrate our ener-

gies. The Church Extension Society, therefore, began to erect buildings, the Missionary Society to supply pulpits, the Book Concern, the Sunday School Union, the Bible and the Tract Societies to furnish literature and aid, until we stand unrivaled for our work among the freedmen in a territory from which for more than twenty years we were practically excluded, having largely outlived persecution and commanded respect.

The contributions of these various societies, including, of course, the Freedmen's Aid, aggregates $6,551,393.47. As a result much successful work has been accomplished. When freedom came in 1864 we had 18,139 negro members, principally in Maryland, Delaware, and the adjacent territory. We have now 247,439. Our white membership has grown on what was slave territory from 87,804 in 1866 to 265,188 in 1892. Altogether, about one fifth of our entire membership, which is at present 2,524,053, is in the South. In addition, we have 23 schools of high and secondary grades among the colored people. In these there are 217 regular and 140 practice teachers, 5,396 students, and a property investment of $1,183,000. At least 125 teachers on an average, who are scarcely less distinguished as missionaries than as instructors, have been sustained in the field during these twenty-seven years. One hundred thousand pupils, according to the best estimates, have been taught in our schools of various grades since we entered upon this work for the freedmen. It is estimated that one million children in the South have been taught by our teachers or by pupils, educated at our schools, who have engaged in teaching, so far-reaching and reproductive are the results of our work for the elevation of this race and the salvation of the world. The General Conference of 1880 committed to the Freedmen's Aid Society the supervision of its educational work in the South, instructing it to aid the schools for whites as much as it could without embarrassment to its other work; and in 1888 its name was changed from the Freedmen's Aid to the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society. Twenty-one white schools are owned or aided by the society. These schools have 136 regular and 25 practice teachers, 3,716 pupils, and property amounting to $625,800.

In the aggregate, therefore, among both colored and white, we have 44 schools, 353 regular and 165 practice teachers, or 518 teachers in all, 9,112 students, and property amounting to

$1,808,800. Of the students 167 are in college classes, 8,072 in college preparatory, normal, English, and special courses, 265 are preparing for the ministry, 254 are studying medicine, 7 dentistry, 21 pharmacy, 2,338 music, 43 art, 323 are preparing for commercial and 2,082 for industrial life. There were 482 conversions last year. The amount expended from the beginning by this society alone has reached the magnificent sum of $3,303,548.30. Says Dr. Hartzell:

> Eternity alone will reveal the far-reaching and gracious results already achieved. From these schools Christian ministers, teachers, physicians, and intelligent citizens have gone forth to be leaders in the development of Christian manhood and womanhood throughout the South, in its homes, in commerce, in politics, and in the Church. When the Hebrew children were being divinely led from Egyptian bondage Jethro said to Moses, "Thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws, and shalt show them the way wherein they must walk and the work that they must do." These were the words of a philanthropist and philosopher. They suggest instruction in religious duties, in moral conduct, and in industrial training. So in the elevation of any people from the bondage of ignorance, poverty, and superstition, no matter what their race, a true education will include moral law, right conduct, and preparation for the practical duties of life. The schools under the direction of this society are Christian schools. Every chapel is a temple of worship to the living God. The Bible is a text-book in schools of every grade. Religious instruction is given in every class room, and in our schools of industry we seek to dignify labor and give such practical instruction as will prepare young men and women for industrious and successful lives.

Such, then, is the noble work which this society, assisted by others, has, through the providence of God, been enabled to accomplish. As an institution of our own forming it has special claims upon us for support which we should meet for consistency's sake, if for nothing else. The first Church that officially recognized the Constitution of the United States and pledged it her support was the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first Church that sounded the keynote of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and that among their "inalienable rights" are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," was the Methodist Episcopal Church. In uncompromising devotion to her heaven-born convictions she suffered herself to be rent in twain, believing that that "light affliction" which was "but for a moment" would work out for her "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of

glory." To do other, then, than to care for the wants of the freedmen, whose emancipation she labored so long and so well to accomplish and whose enfranchisement she so heartily approved, would be inexcusably and rashly inconsistent.

We do not hesitate at all to say that the greatest question before this country to-day is the negro question—a question that is greater even than the temperance question, about which so much is said and so little done. We will probably survive as a nation even if we continue our present policy with reference to this latter question, though we will compromise every principle of Christian integrity and honor in so doing. Be it far from us to utter one word against the speedy removal of this incubus from our body politic. But we affirm it to be as absolutely certain as any future event can be, if we accredit the alarming statistics we are about to submit, that unless the colored people of this country are better qualified for citizenship than they are now we will be among the republics that were in less than two centuries to come. Professor Gilliam, in an article appearing in the *Popular Science Monthly* for February, 1883, entitled "The African in the United States," says:

> The white population, increasing at the rate of twenty per cent in ten years, or two per cent per annum, doubles itself every thirty-five years. The black, increasing at the rate of thirty-five per cent in ten years, or three and a half per cent per annum, doubles itself in twenty years. Hence we find:

Whites in United States in 1880 (in round numbers)	42,000,000
" " " " " 1915 " " "	84,000,000
" " " " " 1950 " " "	168,000,000
" " " " " 1985 " " "	336,000,000
Northern whites in 1880	30,000,000
" " " 1915	60,000,000
" " " 1950	120,000,000
" " " 1985	240,000,000
Southern whites in 1880	12,000,000
" " " 1915	24,000,000
" " " 1950	48,000,000
" " " 1985	96,000,000
Blacks in Southern States in 1880	6,000,000
" " " " " 1900	12,000,000
" " " " " 1920	24,000,000
" " " " " 1940	48,000,000
" " " " " 1960	96,000,000
" " " " " 1980	192,000,000

Had it not been that he was endeavoring to show the excess of blacks over the whites of the South in a given time—which

excess in 1985 he finds to be 96,000,000, a significant fact when we remember that 159 of the 223 electoral votes now necessary to elect a president are cast in that section—he might have continued his calculations on the general population as follows:

Whites in the United States in 2020	672,000,000
Blacks " " " " " 2000	384,000,000
" " " " " " 2020	768,000,000

This means that in the entire United States the excess of the blacks over the whites, but thirty-five years later than the time when his estimates cease, would be also 96,000,000. These figures are essentially corroborated by M. Simonin's calculation in the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of Paris, to which reference was made by Dr. Abel Stevens in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for July, 1883, and January, 1884. M. Simonin says that the census of 1880 showed that the blacks increase at a rate greater than the general population. They were then "in round numbers 6,500,000, and equal to all our foreign-born population." The *Bulletin* is surprised at that. "The Africans," it says, "were, in 1870, only 4,880,000, but in 1880 they were 6,577,151. . . . This is a phenomenon curious and truly new; it is the first time, we believe, that a fact of the kind has been witnessed in statistical geography." Professor Freeman, the English historian, believed this fact to be "one of the gravest perils of our future." What, we would ask, is to become of us in 2020, if these alarming statistics prove to be true—if in one hundred and twenty-six years from now the negroes outnumber us by any such, or even less, increase?

This question becomes all the more alarming when we view it in the light of the frequent and terrible outrages which occur in the South. Dr. E. E. Hoss and Bishop Haygood affirm that three hundred Southern white women were in three months brutally assaulted by colored men. The Southern people are taking the law in their own hand, much to the exasperation of even the more intelligent and better-thinking blacks. These, while they denounce the conduct of their race, claim that they are as much entitled to a fair and impartial trial, before a jury of their countrymen, as are the criminal classes among the whites. The situation is alarming, too, in view of the arrogant and insolent treatment of whites where ignorant blacks predominate, as at Pine Bluff, Ark., where the blacks outnumber the whites

three to one, one wealthy negro alone by his influence preventing a conflict. Similar trouble exists at Tallahassee and Fernandina, Fla., where the colored population far outnumber the whites, the large hotel at the latter place, built by Northern men, being forsaken by white guests because of it. In the coast region of North Carolina, where there are ten times as many colored people as whites, the former are in constant mutiny against their landlords, the State militia frequently being called on to enforce the law. Ought we not, if from no other motive than simple self-defense, to do everything we can to educate and Christianize these people?

When we shall have attained our growth the excess of our population will seek refuge somewhere, as others have sought refuge here. Statesmen are pointing to Africa as that place of future emigration. The nations of Europe are already interesting themselves in its exploration and development. They have found it to be rich in its resources, comparatively healthy in the interior, and wonderfully susceptible to improvement. In the words of another:

> Is not America to share at least this new interest for Africa? We who have millions of people the best adapted to its climate—to be its sailors, pioneers, merchants, and missionaries—are we to be idle spectators of the general movement? Are our growing millions of its children, rising daily in intellectual and moral improvement, to take no part in its redemption? With the immense prospective growth of our colored population will doubtless come considerable development of its business talent and wealth, in spite of its social disadvantages. Can its fatherland fail then to attract its enterprise in commerce, in religion, and civilization generally? It is not improbable, therefore, that the coming colored American hosts may look thitherward with an interest such as few of us dream of. And if European emigration is hereafter to tend toward it is it chimerical to suppose that the Americano-African race, with its scores of millions, will neglect the inviting field—its ancestral home?

If this should come to pass—and future improved facilities for travel will materially aid in bringing it about—and if the negroes should be educated and Christianized up to the full measure of their capacity, what a missionary force we should have in that "Dark Continent" so much in need of light! As Dr. Blyden, the president of Liberia College, affirms, "The Gospel, to be successfully carried into Africa, must be carried by Africans. To a man of Ethiopia must be intrusted the message to

Ethiopians." The Mohammedans have acted on this principle from the beginning. They have had a university for nine hundred years at Cairo, in Egypt, where ten thousand students have been daily taught the Moslem faith; where "two acres of turbans," as one expresses it, greet the eye, and a hum of voices, reciting the Koran, greets the ear. When their education is completed they start as missionaries and, joining caravans, cross the desert and are soon lost in the interior of Africa, where they become effective propagators of their faith. The Roman Catholic Church is agitating the same thing. The *Dublin Review* has recently said:

> We are convinced that the only hopeful, promising, and effective way of procedure in respect to Africa is that which may be summed up in these words, "The conversion of Africa by Africans." Christian black settlements ought to be attempted all over Africa, even, if need be, as among the Mohammedans, after the difficult and costly manner followed by Monsignore Comboni. The task is full of hardship, but no other system will avail. Whether it will be practically possible to organize bands of the Catholic Africano-Americans for the settlement and conversion of Africa, as their Protestant brethren, who sail to Liberia in numbers varying annually from two hundred to five hundred, are organized for that very purpose, remains to be proved.

The Roman Catholic Church has its native black priests in Africa already, and a community of over thirty sisters on the western coast. It will be noticed that the author of the above quotation accords to us success in that, as Protestants, we are annually sending to Liberia organized bands of Christian negroes. If this, which we are conducting on so small a scale, be a success, what will it be if we continue to educate and Christianize the blacks until we send them forth, not "in numbers varying annually from two hundred to five hundred," but in millions and tens of millions?

The susceptibility of the negro to mental improvement, and even to high attainments in scholarship, is fully established:

> Thirty years ago it was unlawful in a large part of the United States to teach a colored person to read. Four millions of them can read the Bible to-day. One million negro children and youths are in schools of all grades, universities not excepted. Thirty years ago very few negroes owned their own bodies. They have accumulated $300,000,000 of real and personal property. They own five million acres of land. They edit and manage two hundred newspapers in this country. Harvard and

> Cornell Universities, by choice of the students, have elected colored men as representative orators. Most of our missionary boards have colored representatives upon the foreign fields. Ten United States ministers have been colored men. Chairs in universities are ably filled by colored men. Only a few positions of honor which have not already been worthily occupied by colored men! There is no parallel in all history.

Their religious propensities as a race are also proverbially exceptional. It was Africa that afforded Jesus shelter when he was driven from his native land, and African hands that ministered to Joseph and to Mary. It was Simon the Cyrenian, a Hellenistic Jewish colonist of Africa, who took up the fainting Saviour's cross where he was about to drop it, and bore it to Golgotha's summit. It was the eunuch of great authority under Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, who in his chariot in the desert characteristically opened his heart, as does his race ever, to the teachings of God's messenger, and believed and was baptized then and there. Shall the woman who anointed Christ's body unto its burial be mentioned wherever the Gospel is preached, and shall these kind deeds of Africa's children be forgotten? In gratitude let them be not only remembered but reciprocated in the uplifting of her sons. And let this be done for the sake of Christ, that the glorious prophecies respecting him may speedily be fulfilled. Said a Chinese convert, in contrasting Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity:

> Buddhism is like the man who, coming to a pit into which another had fallen, looks down and says, "Poor fellow, I am sorry for you. How did you fall down there? My advice is, if you ever do get out, never fall down again." Confucianism is like the man who not only pities but wants to help, and offers to do so, provided he will come far enough up, so he can reach him. But Christianity is like the man who not only pities and wants to help, but is able and willing to do it, and, with his long, strong arm, reaches down to the bottom of the pit, seizes the sufferer, lifts him out, dresses his wounds, cares for his wants, and sends him on his way rejoicing.

Just such a manifestation of Christian charity is what is needed now among the colored people of the South, for they are, though black, our neighbors and our brothers.

W. W. W. Wilson.

ART. IV.—PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.

IN the late summer of 1856 the writer, then a probationer of one year's standing in the California Conference, was sent to Vallejo. Whatever importance belonged to the village at that time grew out of the fact that there the men lived who were employed as laborers in the United States Navy Yard situated on Mare Island, separated from Vallejo by a narrow arm of the bay known as Napa Creek. There were two small churches in Vallejo, of such denominations as may be expected where only two are found—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The latter was a cheap structure, capable of seating about one hundred and fifty people, innocent of paint either on the outside or inside, and with no fence to protect it from becoming a shelter from the sunshine for the numberless cattle that roamed over the neighboring hills. But humble as that church was it enjoyed a distinction not shared by any other church in America. The president of its board of five trustees was David Glascoe Farragut, the greatest naval commander of his age—possibly of any age. The navy yard already alluded to had been constructed under his supervision, and he was then its commanding officer. He was a very regular attendant upon the services of the church; indeed, always present except when kept away by sickness, absence from home, or very bad weather. It was the custom of the commodore, as he was then called, to ask the pastor home to dinner almost every Sabbath; and as the pastor was unmarried he almost invariably accepted the invitation. The long, pleasant conversations held with Farragut on these and other occasions led to a thorough acquaintance with his character, probably more thorough than could have been obtained by a man more nearly on the same plane with himself, officially or socially. Many things learned in this way it would have been improper to give to the public while Farragut lived; but as they are, on the whole, creditable to him, there can be no reason for longer withholding them.

Mrs. Farragut must come in for a share of consideration in any estimate we may make of the character of the great

admiral. Some men are great in spite of their wives; some men are great because their wives made them so; some never are great who might have been so but for their wives. Farragut had a greatness all his own; but he was a better man than he ever would have been otherwise because he had wedded one of the best of women. He was twice married. His first wife was an invalid. Once he secured release from the duties of his office that he might give his whole time to caring for her. After her death he remained single for several years, then married her sister, Miss Virginia Loyall, of Norfolk. She was beautiful, educated, accomplished; but, above all, she was devotedly and consistently pious. Her grandmother had been a Methodist, and she herself, though an Episcopalian, was thoroughly Methodistic in doctrine and spirit. She communed with the Methodists on every occasion, and for a long time was superintendent of their Sunday school, only resigning the position when she thought a man had been found who could do the work better. Never was a man blessed with a happier home than Admiral Farragut. Only one child blessed their union, Loyall Farragut, who yet survives.

In forming a proper estimate of the characteristics which gave Farragut his great success in life several things must be noted. This remark is no doubt true of all great men; for who ever achieved greatness on one stray virtue or excellence? Washington was eminently an "all round" man. So was Lincoln; and so was Farragut. He was by nature a manly man, a noble man. In the popular sense he was not educated. He was born in Tennessee, near the beginning of the century—a place and time very unfavorable to educational facilities—and while a mere lad, not yet in his teens, became a cabin boy for Captain David Porter. But for the determined purpose he ever cherished to make something of himself he might never have risen much higher than this humble position. As it is, he stands before the nation as an example of those self-made men who are really well-made, and who are consequently an inspiration to ambitious youths who start life with few advantages for thorough preparation. True greatness showed itself in the entire frankness with which he spoke of his early lack of educational privileges. He never forgot "the hole whence he was digged." He said that he once unintentionally offended a

British nobleman, whose father had won a title from his sovereign by his skill in running a cotton factory, by congratulating him on having achieved a distinguished title through merit rather than through the accident of a long line of ancestry. What a true American would be proud to confess an Englishman is often careful to conceal. Farragut was an American, and no man more richly deserved the name. He used his native tongue with great accuracy. He could also make himself understood in French, but was glad to use his wife's superior skill in communicating with those to whom the French language was a necessity. His knowledge of classical lore may be readily inferred from the fact that he was twice heard to say, when speaking of the political corruption that so fearfully abounded before the war, that he often thought of the passage of Scripture, "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

In science he was better posted; but even there he showed the defects which must ever cling to one who gathers his knowledge while intently engaged in the active pursuits of life. Strange to say, he utterly refused to believe that the moon governed the tides. It would seem that his very occupation would have corrected so great a mistake. He was an original subscriber to the *Types of Mankind*, and whetted the writer's taste for ethnology by loaning him his copy. He was thoroughly committed to the doctrine of the diversity of origin of the several races of mankind. Some one has described a truly educated man as one "who knows something of everything, and everything of something." Certainly Farragut knew everything of his profession.

It has been said that he would hardly have known how to handle one of our present ironclads; but had he lived until now he would have made himself thoroughly conversant with every new invention, for he had learned to adapt himself to all changes that occurred in naval construction during his life. He often said that the skill of a naval officer was never so taxed as when handling the old ships that depended entirely upon the wind and their sails for the power to move upon the waters. Farragut attended to every branch of his profession. He was acquainted with every vessel in the navy, and knew its tonnage, its length, its beam, its depth in the water, its height above it, its rate of speed, and all its

peculiarities. He knew every navy officer, and was wonderfully skillful in reading character. This ability to look after details, large and small, showed itself in his management of the navy yard, and indeed in his acquaintance with everybody and everything in the town of Vallejo while he was commandant there. At that time there was a little schooner which the government had bought for the use of the navy yard, and which Farragut had named, in honor of a favorite author, the *Fenimore Cooper*. The writer took many trips on this schooner with the commodore. She would outstrip the steamer in a fair race to the city. If everything was not in exact order, the quick eye of Farragut would see it, and a few words, quietly but quickly spoken to the master, would put our little craft in condition to make speed to the utmost of her possibilities.

Farragut was essentially religious. He did not belong to any Church, but had a profound regard for all Churches, and generously contributed to their support. He always attended Christian worship, wherever he might be in the world, unless it was conducted in a language he could not understand. For this reason he did not attend the Roman Catholic church unless upon some rare occasion. He asked a blessing at his own table when others than his own family were not present. He certainly never lost an opportunity to speak well of the Christian faith. It is true that he sometimes under excitement used expressions that were inconsistent with a Christian profession; but he could not be said to be, in the ordinary sense, a profane man. On this point a little incident will be appropriate. One day his son Loyall, then a lad of nine or ten years, while with his father in some part of the navy yard, uttered certain words having some semblance to profanity, though the name of God was not mentioned. Farragut turned and rebuked his son severely. But Loyall replied, "Why, papa, I heard you say the same thing yesterday!" This brought explanations from the father that he had gone to sea when a small boy, had always afterward been associated with rough men, never had had the help of a pious mother, and never could go to Sunday school and church as his son could; and he finally closed with the charge that the boy should go right to the house, and in his own room pray God to forgive him for saying such a naughty thing. "And," said he, "when you have done that, ask God to forgive your father for say-

ing such bad words sometimes!" Had Loyall simply done as directed, this touching little event would never have been given to the world. But he went first and told his mother all that had occurred, and it was from her lips that the writer received it. She told her son to go and do as his father had charged him; and she herself soon followed him, curious to know just what he would do. The door was ajar, and the boy was praying aloud. He had finished his prayer for himself, and was interceding for his father: "O Lord, you must forgive my papa for saying bad words sometimes. You know he went to sea when he was a little boy, never had a pious mother to teach him, couldn't go to church and Sunday school as I do, and—and, Lord, you must forgive my papa, for you know he don't mean anything." She dared not stay to hear more. Let him sneer who thinks this an evidence of littleness in the great admiral; but to the true judge of human nature it will appear as another evidence of that simplicity of soul that always belongs to an extraordinary character.

The intellectual faith of Farragut was not up to the orthodox standard. He several times expressed his doubts as to the divine origin of the Old Testament. But far more frequently he expressed his confidence in the evangelical history and his warmest admiration for Jesus Christ. The sufferings of Christ often affected him to tears, and many times he bowed his head upon the seat in front of him to hide his emotion. It may be proper here to add that he sometimes exhibited that proof of great courage—the tenderness of a woman. Though he never went to the sacramental altar he sat an intensely interested beholder, with a look of sadness that indicated deep sympathy with what was being done.

On the subject of slavery he held somewhat modified Southern views. On one occasion the writer read in the public congregation the General Rules of the Church. In commenting on the rule on slavery, which then simply forbade the buying or selling of slaves, it was pointed out how this, at least, would prevent the separation of families by refusing to admit that the souls of men were to be considered as ordinary merchandise. On reaching home Farragut called up the subject of those rules and expressed himself well pleased with them. On the subject of slavery he was emphatic in his condemnation of the

division of families. He believed that the law ought to forbid the separation of husbands and wives or the taking of children from their parents before they had reached a mature age. His idea, expressed briefly, was that the slaves should be held in a kind of serfdom inseparable from the lands where they had their homes. He lived, no doubt, to see the whole subject in a very different light.

Farragut was not a total abstainer; at least he was not in the days which we are now considering. He never entered a saloon to drink. In the popular sense he never treated or received a treat. He had only words of severe condemnation for the drinking habits of the time. When he had company at his table he drank wine with them. When he had no company, or company that did not drink, he put about a tablespoonful of whisky into a common goblet, filled it with cold water, and drank it instead of tea or coffee at the dinner hour, and only then. The first time the writer dined with him he was asked if he would take a glass of wine, and when he refused the offer was never repeated. Whenever other company was present that drank wine he always said, after they were served, "Mr. Anthony, I do not offer wine to you because I know you never drink"—a manifestation of real politeness rarely seen among drinking men. On one occasion the theme of the morning discourse in the little church was taken from the words of Paul, "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." The text was presented in its natural bearing upon the drinking habits of the time. It was claimed that every man's duty required him to abstain from that which would injure a weak brother. It was expressly urged that these rules were more binding upon those who occupied high places, and thus set an example which others would follow, than upon anybody else. Farragut had a large number of friends with him in church that morning, and for the first and only time in a whole year did not ask the writer home with him to dinner. The inference was natural that he was displeased, and a suspense of many days followed. The next Sabbath was very stormy, and no one came over from the navy yard. As soon as the weather permitted the writer went to his office. Farragut was standing at his

desk alone. He instantly stepped forward and greeted him substantially in the words following: "Glad to see you. It seems a long time since I saw you last. We did not get over to church on Sunday. It was too stormy for the ladies, and we men had not the courage to go alone. By the way, did you see that man who sat with his wife in our pew the last Sunday we were out? Well, that was the captain of Queen Victoria's bodyguard. He is traveling for his health, and spent two weeks with us. He was disappointed in not hearing you again. And that reminds me I have a feather for your cap. As we were leaving the church he said to me, 'Farragut, that is the kind of preaching the world needs.' I will not tell you what I said, but it would not make you sorry if I did. That's right, Mr. Anthony. When you stand in the pulpit do your duty, whoever is pleased or offended. Of course you will go up to the house and take dinner with us, and we will have a good time." And we did. While it would be better for any man to do what he is willing to admit is right, yet next to that it is certainly a token of a noble nature when he is not offended at faithful words that condemn his conduct.

When Farragut left Mare Island, late in the summer of 1858, crowds gathered to see him off. Work for the time was suspended, and all sought to give honor to the man who never felt himself too great to speak to them, and whose kind heart ever felt a warm personal interest in their welfare. As he stepped upon the deck of the steamer that was to bear him to San Francisco cheer after cheer arose from the men who so really loved him. He attempted to speak, but public speaking was never one of his gifts. Emotion checked his utterance, and he hurriedly withdrew from sight. Twelve years passed. What eventful years! The commodore had become the great admiral. He was again in Vallejo. The little church had been altered and enlarged. Other churches had been built, among them one belonging to the Episcopalians, the denomination of which Mrs. Farragut was a member. But they came to the Methodist church, and the writer was privileged again to address them. He had traveled more than a hundred miles for that purpose. The next morning at the Springs, three miles away, we breakfasted together. Mrs. Farragut was indisposed, and our breakfast was taken alone. For well-nigh two hours

we sat in the large dining room talking. The memory of that hour is among the most interesting of a lifetime.

At the remark made by the writer that he had seen with immense satisfaction the position that Farragut had taken in favor of the Union and the valuable service he had rendered his country, the admiral seemed almost annoyed. Why should anybody think that he would have done any differently? What right had anybody to question his loyalty? Still, he admitted that he had been the subject of suspicion on both sides. He lived in Norfolk, surrounded by the friends of many years. Yet they did not confide in him and said little to him until a committee of citizens waited upon him and demanded an answer to the plain question, where he stood in relation to the subject that so greatly agitated the whole nation. His answer was brief but decisive: "I stand an officer of the United States Navy, sworn to the defense of my country. I am awaiting orders. When I get them I shall most certainly obey them." Their reply was in curt and cutting words, giving him only until four o'clock that afternoon to take himself out of Norfolk; nor would they be answerable for consequences if he tarried beyond that hour. Fortunately, communication between Norfolk and New York was not yet cut off. A steamer sailed for the latter port that afternoon, and on that steamer he must go. Not a word had yet passed between himself and wife in regard to his future course. Her people were all secessionists. What if she should side with them? But her position was soon ascertained. She proved true to her country and worthy of the hero she had wedded. Going from the interview with the citizens to his own house and opening his front door, he saw his wife at the head of the stairs and called out: "Virginia, pack your trunk; we leave for New York at four o'clock." There were no words, no explanations, some tears, perhaps; but the trunks were packed and they set off for the North, with whose destinies theirs should be so nobly linked forever.

Even in New York they were regarded with suspicion. Farragut scorned to use any public means to remove this feeling. He said, "Why should a man that has never said anything or done anything that was not in the highest sense in keeping with loyalty to his country be required by special pleadings to assert himself worthy of confidence?" That he finally

secured recognition in the navy he attributed to Commodore David D. Porter. With Porter's father Farragut had made his first voyage. They had always been like brothers, and so remained until a question of discipline separated them. Said the admiral: "I have to thank a man for that New Orleans command who will not now speak to me, unless in official duty. He once failed to obey orders, and I reported him. I should have done it if he had been my own father. But at that time he was my friend, and did me a service for which I shall always feel grateful to him. It was he that induced the administration to give me a chance with the other two of equal rank that at the time were highest in the navy." It was determined to consult these officers as to the practicability of taking New Orleans. A letter was sent to each, stating the great advantage which would accrue to the Union cause if New Orleans could be secured as a base of supplies and of operations in the South, and the question was asked whether it was thought that the thing could be done if the proper measures were employed. As soon as Farragut read the letter he took his pen and dashed off this reply: "I am astonished at your question. I had always supposed that any place accessible to a fleet could be taken by a navy engagement if the proper means were employed." The answer contained no more than this, except date and signature. In due time another letter came, this time asking him whether he would undertake the reduction of New Orleans if such means as he might require were placed at his disposal. Again he dashed off his laconic answer: "I am astonished at your question. I await orders." And again there was nothing added but date and signature. The next letter he received from Washington was as brief as he could have penned it: "Come to Washington."

For the first time in his life he stood before Abraham Lincoln. The cabinet was in session. After introductions, the president informed Farragut that they had already decided upon giving him the charge of what they considered the greatest enterprise yet undertaken during the war. They were ready to grant him anything he asked that lay within their power, if he would only make it a success. He was ready at once to tell them what men and ships he wanted. They told him he could have them and twenty gunboats besides. Farragut declared

that even then he was certain he should have to run past Forts Jackson and St. Philip. The gunboats in that case would be in the way. So he said, "I do not want the gunboats." But they asked with evident surprise, "How will you reduce the forts?" He saw that if he told them all that was in his mind he would stand a fine chance of not getting the command; and so he hastily answered, "All right, send the gunboats." He said he thought it better to sink twenty gunboats in the Mississippi than to fail to take New Orleans. The facts of that great victory, one of the most important ones on the Union side, are sufficiently familiar without their being recorded here. One little episode at the mouth of the river, just before the attack, brings out the decision of this great commander in a way that warrants its repetition. A British officer who had watched their preparations with closest scrutiny came aboard the morning they were getting under way. In greeting Farragut he said, "I like you, I believe in you; but I fear for you. I think you are planning to run those forts. Allow me frankly to say, I do not believe it can be done." The answer was quickly made: "Many thanks for your interest, which I accept as a token of personal good feeling and reciprocate; but I am very busy and have not time to be civil. I can only say, sir, that these vessels go to New Orleans or to the bottom of the Mississippi."

We take space for one more historical reference. He laughed at the idea that he was fastened in the maintop when they entered Mobile Bay. He said it was no doubt well meant, but why should he want himself tied anywhere? Was he afraid he would run away? When asked how the story came to be told, he said all he knew about it was that he was trying to keep above the smoke, which was settling like a dense fog over the whole face of the water. In order to give directions intelligently, he went up the shrouds, rising as the smoke rose, until he said he was well up to the maintop; but he was not in the maintop, much less tied there. It is probable that he forgot at that moment what it is credibly reported he afterward admitted. A sailor was sent up by the officer on deck to place a rope over him, making it fast on each side in order to prevent his falling so great a distance in case of being wounded. When Farragut found what the sailor was doing he objected; but, finding it was in obedience to orders, he suffered it.

At the remark that war was a terrible business, a shade of sadness passed over his countenance that betokened memories of carnage most painful for his kind heart to contemplate. This was substantially his answer: "Yes, indeed, a terrible thing is war; but sometimes we must go to war or more terrible things will follow. You remember what you told us yesterday, that every man was fitted by nature and by circumstances to fill some important place in the world where he could glorify God and serve his generation. Now I believe that, and I believe I have adaptations for my position in the navy, and that in filling it the best I knew how I have served God as well as my country. And now I will tell you what I am sure you will be glad to know. I never went into an engagement in my life that I did not first go on my knees in prayer before God, asking his protection and help, believing I was doing in that particular what was right in his sight." After a brief pause he added, "I have gone through greater dangers than any living man, and I have never received a scratch." Then, as if suddenly remembering something, he added: "Well, yes, once in an action I felt something running down my cheek, and putting up my hand I found it was blood. Tracing it to its origin, I found my cap was gone, and whatever had taken it off had also taken off a small piece of my bald scalp!" No doubt we may safely conclude that when he came to meet the last enemy, death, he triumphed through the presence and power of that Saviour in whom he sincerely believed.

C. V. Anthony

Art. V.—OUR MEN AND WOMEN: ACTIONS AND REACTIONS PRIOR TO MAY, 1892—AN IRENICON.

In the following pages we purpose to prepare the way for a new constitutional ordinance, by the adoption of which the Church may easily settle the relations of men and women to our ecclesiastical government, in a manner entirely consistent with the principles and views of all moderate and candid minds in both the parties now so long and so unhappily arrayed against each other. We do not write to augment or to diminish the privileges or rights of either sex, but to secure on the part of both a better understanding of scriptural and legal principles. We do not intend to attack any past measure or to champion any. Our aim is simply to help the reader to understand what has been done, in order that he may understand what ought to be done. Of course no one historian or critic can suit all tastes or judgments in all particulars; but, so far as we shall deal with historic or actual facts, we shall endeavor with all diligence to satisfy the just demands of the one party as fully as those of the other. As we have often said and written, we firmly believe that each party has been contending for principles essentially true, and that thus far it would have been a misfortune had either triumphed. Especially do we wish it understood from the outset that we have no desire whatever to see women introduced into the General Conference by the action of 1892, or by any outright judicial ruling of the General Conference of 1896. Neither of these methods would bring out into due prominence the true scriptural solution of the question, as given by us elsewhere, or clarify and tranquillize the mind of the Church, long confused and excited by unintelligent and unedifying controversy.

As an exceedingly brief historical introduction we presume the following facts will be admitted by all parties as true and pertinent: (1) That from the beginnings of American Methodism all duly appointed class leaders have impliedly been entitled to membership in their appropriate Quarterly Conferences, with full right to vote on all business transacted by the Quarterly Conference; (2) That, nevertheless, during the first half century or more of the history of the Church female class

leaders very rarely used their undenied right to a place and part in the Quarterly Conference, and were only sporadically encouraged to attend; (3) That in the history of American Methodism duly appointed female class leaders are found at least as far back as January 6, 1773, on which date, only thirteen days after the first Quarterly Conference of which we have any historic notice, Francis Asbury is known to have appointed one; (4) That in England at an early date women were made leaders, not only of women's classes, but also of classes including both sexes, "especially when the members were young;" (5) That in 1855 a woman, Mrs. Eliza Clark Garrett, gave to the Church its first endowed school of theology; (6) That in 1866 and the years contiguous thereto the women of the Church, by united effort in their Centennial Association and in the McClintock Association, created Heck Hall in Evanston, raised some $20,000 for the School of Theology in Boston, and an even larger sum for the one in Madison; (7) That the Church has never denied or proposed to deny to women any theological instruction provided in these institutions; (8) That in 1868, the limiting word "male" having been inserted in the motion to submit the question of lay delegation to the laity for their vote (as in the previous plebiscite on the same subject), the General Conference, before adopting it, voted more than two to one to strike out the qualifying word, thus conceding to the men and women of the Church an equal right of suffrage in a matter of supreme constitutional importance; (9) That in 1869 the women of the Church founded their Foreign Missionary Society, an organization whose breadth of operation, steadiness of purpose, vigor of administration, and educative power over the Church have excited admiration on every continent; (10) That in the seventies, if not before, various women of gifts, graces, and usefulness were formally licensed as local preachers, and that in many places women were also found serving at the call of the local authorities in the capacity of stewards, trustees, and Sunday school superintendents; (11) That in some of the first Lay Electoral Conferences ever held, those of 1871 and 1872, regularly elected women delegates sat and voted, unchallenged by any authority, and with no suspicion of illegality; (12) That in an important report, adopted in 1872, the General Conference declared:

[illegible]

"The time has gone by when persons should be excluded from church offices on account of . . . sex;" (13) That the action of the General Conference in 1880 on the meaning of the "pronouns *he*, *his*, and *him*, when used in the Discipline with reference to stewards, class leaders, and Sunday school superintendents," was not a legislative creation of new rights, but in form and force a judicial interpretation of existing law touching existing rights; (14) That in 1880 the General Conference refused to authorize the licensing of women as local preachers and declared against the ordination of women—an action which in 1884 the Conference deemed it "inexpedient" to change; (15) That in 1880 the women of the Church founded their Home Missionary Society, an association whose services for the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom in our great cities, on the frontier, among the freedmen, among our foreign populations, and among the Indian tribes have been of incalculable value; (16) That three women were elected reserve delegates and given regular credentials to the General Conference of 1880, which credentials were accepted by the officers of the Conference as entitling them to a place on the officially published, and only officially published, roll of the reserve delegates of the body; (17) That no action implying so much as a question of the perfect legality of the elections was asked for by the bishops or taken by the General Conference; (18) That four years later two reserve delegates were elected and given regular credentials to the General Conference of 1884, which credentials were accepted by the officers of the Conference as entitling them to a place on the officially published, and only officially published, roll of the reserve delegates of that body; (19) That neither the bishops nor the General Conference presented at that time the slightest objection to the enrollment and official recognition of these delegates or of those of 1880; (20) That in 1887 duly elected lay delegates to the "Central Mission Conference of India" who were women were, in accordance with a formal episcopal ruling, admitted to membership and full participation in the business, and that the transactions of the Conference, on recommendation of the Standing Committee on the Itinerancy, were officially approved by the General Conference of 1888; (21) That in the West, a little prior to the meeting of the General Conference of 1888, a move-

ment was set on foot by certain ardent advocates of "woman suffrage" and related ideas—said advocates being by no means all of one sex or of one religious denomination—with a view to the placing of as many women as possible in the approaching General Conference; (22) That, mainly as a result, five women were elected regular delegates from various Electoral Conferences, and seventeen others reserve delegates; (23) That, chiefly as a consequence of this somewhat alarming development of ecclesiastical and other politics, a protest was lodged with the bishops, in which their authority as presidents of the General Conference was invoked against the seating of the elected women; (24) Finally, that, pursuant to the prayer of the signers of the protest, the elected women were formally challenged by the bishops, and their claims referred by the Conference to a special committee of seventeen appointed by the bishops.

Now, in order that the complicated, unprecedented, and very peculiar action then taken by the General Conference may be clearly understood, let us examine it, stage by stage, with all the circumspection of a thorough legal inquisition by question and answer.

1. What, and what only, was referred to the Committee of Seventeen? "The election of the delegates to this Conference who are women."

2. In the instruction as to the time of reporting how did the Conference designate its committee? "The Committee on the Eligibility of the Women."

3. Who were "the women?" The five against whose seating protest had been entered.

4. What did the committee report touching the eligibility of the five women? It recommended the adoption of two resolutions, numbered two and three, which were as follows:

> (2) That the protest referred to this committee against the seating of [here were given the names of the women] is supported by the Discipline, and therefore they cannot regularly be admitted to seats. (3) That the Secretary of the General Conference shall notify the regularly elected reserve delegates from these Conferences that the seats herein referred to are vacant.

5. What would the adoption of resolutions two and three have settled? That all elections of women as delegates up to that moment lacked due warrant in the law.

6. What unconditioned and universal judgment did the committee recommend the Conference to adopt? "That under the constitution and laws of the Church, as they now are, women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference."

7. What would the adoption of this judgment, with or without resolutions two and three, have settled? The ineligibility of women thenceforward, so long as the existing law and this authoritative judicial interpretation thereof remained unchanged.

8. Was this report of the committee adopted? No, it was not even submitted to vote.

9. What was done with it? First, by a vote of 249 to 173, it was qualified by an amendment.

10. What reason did the General Conference give for this action? The Conference said that in such an important matter "the Church generally should be consulted."

11. How was it proposed to consult the Church? By submitting to the Annual Conference membership and to the next General Conference an amendment to the second restrictive rule, adding these words: "And said delegates may be men or women."

12. After this qualification of the report, what was adopted as expressing the mind and will of the Conference touching the general principle of woman's eligibility? This:

> Under the constitution and laws of the Church, as they now are, women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference; but since there is great interest in this question, and since the Church generally should be consulted in regard to such an important matter; therefore, *Resolved*, that we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposal to amend the second restrictive rule by adding the words, "And said delegates may be men or women," after the words, "Two lay delegates for an Annual Conference," so that it will read, "Nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates may be men or women."

13. By what vote was it passed? By one so close that the change of one layman from "aye" to "no" would have defeated the measure.

14. Was the vote adopting the amended report one, or more than one? It was one integral act, completed, so far as the

General Conference was concerned, in one and the same indivisible moment of time.

15. Is it correct to say, "The General Conference first declared the meaning of the law, and then gave the Church a chance to change it?" No. On the contrary, the Conference first attached the provision for an appeal to the Church to the committee's proposed determination and declaration of the existing law, and then, by one indivisible vote, determined and declared the force of the law, qualified by the proposed appeal to the Church, (*a*) as it bore upon past elections, and (*b*) as it bore on elections yet in the future.

16. What, then, was the force of the provision for an amendment of the second restrictive rule? It was a provision for ascertaining the sentiments of the about-to-be-consulted Church, and so reaching a determination of the whole matter which should have final and absolute validity.

17. According to the determination of the one integral and all-decisive vote, what was the force of the law (as qualified by the proposed appeal to the Church) as it bore upon past elections? It could not be known until the result of the appeal to the Church was known.

18. In the meantime, what was the legal status of the five women? They were not entitled to their seats.

19. On what grounds? Simply and solely because their rights under the existing law had not yet been finally and absolutely determined.

20. Did not the third resolution, by declaring the five seats vacant, necessitate the inference that an absolute and final judgment had been given? No.

21. Why not? Because, as the elected women were as yet neither entitled nor non-entitled to their seats, the seats were in fact vacant, and the notification ordered gave the delegations or delegates concerned freedom to use their discretion as to filling the vacancies with unchallenged reserves.

22. Why is it impossible to consider the amended resolutions one, two, and three an unconditional and, for the time, final declaration of the ineligibility of women? Because to assert it is to assert that the General Conference officially and solemnly declared that the personal rights in question ought not to be allowed or denied without "consulting the Church gener-

ally," and yet in the self-same indivisible moment of time, on its own sole authority, officially and solemnly denied those same rights absolutely and, for the time, finally.

23. What must one further show in order to maintain that the General Conference of 1888 pronounced an unqualified and, for the time, final judicial declaration of the ineligibility of women? One must show that a report, that based the full acknowledgment or the absolute denial of the constitutional rights of two thirds of the members of the Church upon the issue of a proposed judicial vote of that General Conference, was absolutely unaffected in meaning or force by an accepted, embodied, and adopted amendment, whose sole expressed purpose was to base the acknowledgment or denial of these rights upon the issue of a proposed vote of the traveling preachers and of the next General Conference.

24. According to the determination and declaration of the one integral vote, what was the force of the law (as qualified by the appeal to the Church) as it bore upon future elections? It could not be known until after the consulted Church had made its response.

25. What, then, was the status of women from the time of the vote, May 6, 1888, until the moment when, in the spring of 1892, one more than one fourth of the traveling preachers had voted against the Neely amendment to the second restrictive rule? They were neither legally eligible nor legally ineligible.

26. What, then, first absolutely and unconditionally determined the force of the term "lay delegates" in a sense that excluded women? The failure of the Neely amendment to the second restrictive rule.

27. What important peculiarity of the act of 1888 has been unnoticed in our public discussions? Its irrevocableness by the body that passed it.

28. Why was it irrevocable? Because it was an unfinished act, in which the two parties to the suit were bound by a conditioned consummation dependent on the will of third parties, namely, the Annual Conference membership and their representatives in the next General Conference—*actus inceptus cujus perfectio pendet ex voluntate partium revocari potest; si autem pendet ex voluntate tertiæ personæ, vel ex contingenti, revocari non potest.*

29. What follows from this? Something of interest to both the original parties, namely, that if, a few days after the vote, the minority had rallied or won over the few men necessary to constitute themselves a majority, and then by reconsideration attempted to reverse the first resolution or any other clause of the one undivided act, the attempt would have been unlawful; and for the reason that every sentence and materially significant word was an inseparable part of one indivisible and irrevocable *actus inceptus*, whose process was not as yet complete.

30. Would, then, this reasoning have been just as cogent had the opposite party prevailed? Certainly.

31. Can we imagine a parallel case? Readily. Suppose that in 1880, in view of the actual election of three women as reserve delegates to that General Conference, conservatives had raised the same challenge that they did eight years later. Suppose that then, as a settlement of the matter, the General Conference had adopted *verbatim* the amended Moore resolution of 1892, inserting for the sake of a less abrupt transition the word "but" at the beginning of the Hamilton amendment, and omitting the final resolution as to the eventual construction of the term "lay delegates." Suppose that then, some days after the completion of this parallel to the situation after the vote in 1888, in consequence of the illness and retirement of a delegate, the Conference had been asked to seat a reserve who was a woman, and this on the ground that some days before the Conference had judicially decided and declared that "in all matters connected with the election of lay delegates the word 'laymen' ought to be understood, and must of right be understood, to include all members of the Church who are not members or presidents of the Annual Conferences." Could she have been seated? By no means, and for the good reason that the alleged judicial declaration would not as yet have received the full, permanent, and unconditional force of law. Whatever their sentiments touching the admission of women at the proper time and in the proposed way, all good judges of law would have had to say, "The woman cannot now be seated."

32. Why is it unfitting, not to say unfair, in an opponent of eligibility to claim that the General Conference gave an

unqualified judicial declaration? Because at a time when, for the express purpose of obtaining for the Conference a chance to give such a declaration, a well-known friend of eligibility had moved to divide the amended paper, an equally well-known opponent of the women's cause, with his friends, promptly laid the motion for a division on the table. This procedure certainly seemed to show that the party opposing eligibility was unwilling to allow a vote to be taken on the proposed unqualified judicial declaration.

33. What further infelicity attended this tabling of the motion for a division? It manifestly, though doubtless without intended unfairness, placed the supporters of Dr. Queal's motion in the unamiable attitude of saying to their brethren on the other side, "We will give you a chance to make women eligible, if you can, in the hardest possible way; but we will not first give you a chance to know whether, under the existing constitution and laws, they are not already eligible."

34. Why was the tabling of the call for a division unfair to some members of Dr. Queal's own party? Because it practically disfranchised every man who firmly and conscientiously believed the participation of women in General Conference legislation to be a form of womanly authority over men prohibited by the word of God. Such a man could not conscientiously vote against the undivided act, for that would be to throw his influence with the advocates of women's eligibility. On the other hand, he could not conscientiously vote for it, for this would be to promise to women a divinely forbidden authority, provided only that the Church would vote it by sufficiently high consecutive majorities.

35. Was this wholly unprecedented "consulting of the Church generally," by providing for the vote of the Annual Conference members in the giving of a judicial decision, "unconstitutional?" Yes and no. Yes, in the sense that no provision in our written or unwritten constitution at the time required or contemplated such a thing; no, in the sense that under our peculiar system of government every act of the General Conference considered constitutional by the Conference itself is so.

36. Was the act, because uncontemplated by any provision of our existing constitution at the time of its proposal, on that

account void? No, for the reason that no act of the General Conference can be void until pronounced so by the General Conference.*

37. Why was the total action of 1888, however interpreted, an unfortunate precedent? Because it inaugurated an original form of procedure, in following which a majority of "two," or even of one, in any General Conference can so condition a proposed construction of the constitution and laws upon an invited verdict of the Church that the vote of one fourth of the members of the Annual Conferences, plus one, shall outweigh and, in legal effect, completely neutralize the vote of three fourths of the Annual Conference members, minus one, touching the same question.

38. Is this novel procedure applicable to the general rules, as well as the General Conference charter? Certainly. In case a barest majority of any General Conference desires to see dancing, card-playing, and theater-going made lawful, all it needs to do is, first, to prepare a paper like the following:

> *Resolved*, That the practice of dancing, etc., as existing in other Christian communions, is not inconsistent with the general rules of our Church touching the taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus; but, since there is great interest in this question and since the Church generally should be consulted in such an important matter, therefore, *Resolved*, that we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposition to amend the general rule, so that it shall read, "The taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus, such as dancing, card-playing, and theater-going."

Let, then, the dance-loving majority of one adopt the paper "and persuade one more than one fourth of the traveling preachers to vote against the proposed amendment," and, *presto*, the desired end is attained! Precisely so in any similar case. But to see all the possibilities of this procedure one must remember that in the above case, or in any similar one, it is not at all necessary that the majority of the General Conference present and voting favor the proposed construction of the rule, but only that a majority favor submitting the question in this form to the Church. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, as two thirds of the body is a legal quorum and one more

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* Or by the secular courts, in the case of parties who outlaw themselves from the Church and refuse to recognize the authority of the General Conference. See Warren's *Constitutional Law Questions*, pp. 51-56.

than one half of this number a legal majority, one more than one third of the General Conference, with one more than one fourth of the traveling elders, could in a conceivable case effectually settle the force of our constitution and laws and general rules according to their own mind, however opposed thereto the Church at large might be.

39. In what situation did the action of 1888 leave every member of the Annual Conferences who conscientiously believed that the true legal meaning of the terms "laity" and "lay delegate" was inclusive of women? He could only say, with a revered "Observer" on a later occasion:

> Herein is the queerness of the situation. If I want the law to remain unchanged I must vote for a change. If I want the law changed I must vote against any change. In order to keep the law as it is there must be a vote of three fourths in favor of putting in new words and retaining the old meaning; while to keep the old words and obtain new meaning only a vote of one fourth is required. A vote for a change is a vote for the law as it has been.

40. What other words of the same writer would have, at the time, expressed the feelings of many? The following:

> Whether this strange situation has been brought about regularly, with a full knowledge and consent of the General Conference, or not, it is a situation which is sufficiently absurd to merit the indignation of the Church. It lays Methodism open to the ridicule of all who love straightforwardness and abhor indirection in serious legislation.

The foregoing questions and answers present a number of points in a fresh light. They show that many previous writers on both sides of the controversy have assumed or asserted things that do not accord with the facts or with any just inferences from the facts. We have been careful, however, not to name or to criticise any previous writer, and have kept far aloof from all personal and partisan polemics. In another article we hope with due impartiality briefly to set forth the curiously similar and curiously dissimilar action of the year 1892, and then to propose and advocate a new and so much needed constitutional amendment in which both parties, without sacrifice of principle, can heartily unite.

William F. Warren.

ART. VI.—LESSING'S UNFAIRNESS IN "NATHAN THE WISE."

THAT *Nathan the Wise* is one of the loftiest peaks in the mountain range of German literature will be readily conceded. There are probably not half a dozen German dramas better known or more admired than this child of Lessing's old age. Yet, in spite of all this, no production in the language has been more criticised. As a work of art it is not without many and serious defects, for Lessing, though a great poet, was, *par excellence*, a critic. He was more a Mars than an Apollo. His ardent nature, combative spirit, and restless activities disqualified him from dwelling at peace in the sacred groves of the muses. His life was one of turmoil, not of rest; of action, not of contemplation. No wonder Goethe styled him the Achilles, and not the Homer, of German literature!

The biography of this great man is too well known that it should be necessary to enter into the details of his life or works. Consequently, this paper will be limited to the consideration of some facts that are often, if not entirely, overlooked, or are but slightly touched upon. Some reasons will be assigned which may throw light upon his lifelong opposition to positive religion. It will be generally conceded that the teachings in Lessing's controversial writings, especially emphasized in his *Nathan*, are, on the whole, quite unfriendly to every form of revealed religion. While saying this, it may be added that no German author has been more helpful and suggestive to the writer than Lessing.

It may be said, at the beginning of this paper, that Lessing's life was not a life of happiness, but rather one of friction, of bitter disappointment, and in many regards one of utter failure and of galling poverty; or, as Scherer puts it: "He passed through many varied experiences, many illusions and disappointments, and was a roaming seafarer, gathering treasures from all countries, but finding no fixed habitation anywhere." Lessing was born in a parsonage. The words "parsonage" and "poverty" are not necessarily synonymous; but the house of Lessing's father and the vicarage at Wakefield were not the only two ministers' homes which had to battle hard to keep the

wolf from the door, or felt the inconvenience of meager incomes when it was necessary to keep up the forms of respectability. Notwithstanding limited incomes and various other drawbacks, the parsonage has furnished its full share of illustrious men for every field of activity, be it literature, art, science, theology, the marts of trade, or the great industries of the world. In spite, however, of the refining influences, the religious atmosphere, and the most careful training, it has often happened that no class of men have so completely shaken off all restraints as the sons of ministers. The Lord be praised that the number is not large! The rigid discipline and the forced economy have proved too much. No class of children suffer more from the inconveniences of poverty than those of many ministers, who, as a rule, are the peers of their fellows in intellectual and natural endowments, but who forever feel cramped for means to secure the highest culture demanded by the society in which they are expected to shine. It is difficult for them to realize the truth of the beatitude which says, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," and still more difficult to harmonize an empty purse with a state of bliss.

Poverty met Lessing at the very threshold of life, and continued to stare him in the face till well-nigh the close of his earthly pilgrimage. One of twelve children, if he is educated at all, it must be at the expense of some kind-hearted patron or public institution. When a student's expenses are thus defrayed there are, generally, at least, two limitations: first, the allowance, in the very nature of the case, must be meager; and, secondly, no society or organization will educate those openly hostile to its principles or such as are likely to become so. Thus, at an early age, young Lessing refuses to remain a beneficiary at the University of Leipsic and gives up the stipends voted him by his native town. It has been said that he regarded this aid as altogether too small, and utterly inadequate for the support of a gentleman. Be that as it may, he throws off this yoke and begins the battle of life upon his own responsibility. He now devotes himself to private enterprises, such as translation and writing for the local press.

Then, much more than now, literary men, without some private income or stated salary, did not fare sumptuously, but had to fight even for the scantiest livelihood. Thus it was with

Lessing. He had to fight for bread in the most literal sense of the word, no less than for truth and freedom. Poverty, unless sweetened by the consolations of religion or rendered bearable by the highest philosophy, is not a means of grace such as will aid in the cultivation of a genial disposition, unbounded charity, and cheerful magnanimity. We cannot say of Lessing that "chill penury" repressed his "noble rage;" but we may assert that poverty did freeze "the genial current of the soul." How often has poverty embittered the possessors of great intellects and transformed great minds into carping cynics, especially when a sect or a clique has stood like a stone wall between the victim and the coveted success! No one can understand Lessing's spiritual or religious nature without recognizing this fact, which so severely interfered with the symmetrical development of his soul. Poverty continued, as a thorn in his flesh, almost to the verge of the grave. His own pugnacious nature and restless temperament and incessant warfare upon those who differed from him, even in small things, served only to sharpen this thorn and give deeper pain to its keen touch.

Poverty is not the only inconvenience imposed by a life at a parsonage. There is a certain standard of morality and orthodoxy required of the preacher and his family which is not insisted upon in other circles. Hence the oft-repeated and unjust slander against ministers' children. Orthodoxy and even morality are variable quantities, and should never be considered apart from chronology and geography. The age of Lessing might have demanded more of the one and less of the other than our own age. So in what follows the standard adopted in the middle of the eighteenth century, rather than at the close of the nineteenth, must be applied. We can easily imagine the anxious care with which Lessing's parents endeavored to instill correct principles, no less than right ideas, into the mind of their child, who, they hoped, "would be a real man of God" and would prepare himself to fill the sacred office held by his father. In spite of parental solicitude, we find young Lessing's mind, at the early age of twelve, greatly stirred up on the subject of the theater. The rector of the public school at Kamenz had written an essay entitled "The Stage a School of Eloquence." Lessing, Sr., and Lessing, Jr., took opposite sides. While the father attacked the essay from the pulpit the son

summoned all the logic and rhetoric at his command in its defense. Young Lessing's mind could not be changed. He stubbornly refused to yield. Consequently, he was withdrawn from the school of his native village and sent to Meissen. He changed schools, but not his opinion, for his love for the stage remained undiminished; yea, more, it rapidly grew into a passion, increasing from day to day until Lessing became the acknowledged leader, and, indeed, we might say the founder, of the purely German drama.

Father and son continued to cherish different views, and, much to the grief of the father, mother, and sister, the son and brother became more and more attached to the stage, and naturally the more hostile to the Church; for then, as now, the pulpit and the theater were sworn enemies. Lessing believed that he could popularize the drama and make it the greatest moral element in the education of the nation. The Protestant clergy, for the most part, convinced that the stage could not exert a wholesome influence upon the morals of the people, opposed him in this. Controversy became bitter on both sides. The more orthodox and evangelical the minister, the less liberal was he in his views regarding the influence of the theater. This, again, served to widen the gap between Lessing and the orthodox theologians, as well as to bring him into closer union with the freethinkers of his times. It was about this period that he became very intimate with Moses Mendelssohn, one of a race hated and persecuted by the German people. Whatever may be said of the possibilities of the stage, one thing is established beyond controversy; that is, that the majority of actors and actresses are not models of conduct regarded from an ethical standpoint. Thus, it need not surprise us if Lessing's fondness for the stage and his intimacy with this class of people did not prove conducive to the development of a high and lofty moral character. One of Lessing's most intimate friends was one Mylius, a former schoolmate, who had been embittered against the Church—not without some cause, since he had been fined and imprisoned for having written a poem in which several distinguished dignitaries had been unmercifully lampooned. Mylius was a man of brilliant intellect, but utterly devoid of moral sense or perception, very coarse, and entirely wanting in refinement. He was not only very heterodox, but very dissolute.

Voltaire's influence upon Lessing's character had been, if not positively pernicious, yet far from beneficial. In their disinclination to positive religion and in their demand for religious toleration they were both of one mind, and Lessing's clear, unadorned prose, which fits every *nuance* of thought, might have been acquired from Voltaire had it not been natural to himself. His alienation from the teachings of the Lutheran Church and his departure from the admonitions of his parents, together with the low standard of morality prevalent among his intimate associates, were not without dangerous results. As Scherer says, "His orthodoxy was put to the test and succumbed;" and he might have added, without danger of contradiction, that his morals also received a severe shock. Hostility to creed is often a mere plea for greater indulgence in doubtful practices, an endeavor to lower the standard of morality, as taught in the New Testament, to the level of the carnal mind and unsanctified affections. The source of such hostilities are oftener in the heart than in the head. Christian ethics require the purest morals and the most unselfish life. If measured by this standard we are afraid that Lessing falls very far short.

He struggled all his life with poverty, but he obtained only a partial victory, and that very late in life. How to live within his income was a lesson he never fully mastered. He had the faculty, not only of contracting, but also of remaining in, debt. In this regard he differed widely from Spinoza, with whom he had so many traits in common. In the commercial world nothing militates against a person's success more than a disinclination or even disability to meet all financial obligations. Wherever this habit becomes chronic failure is imminent and genuine happiness entirely out of the question. Even the fact that Lessing was a very liberal man and altogether too indulgent to those depending upon him does not wholly exonerate him. Nor is it possible to explain away the fact that he was inordinately fond of gambling, not merely for recreation, but for gain as well. Miss Frothingham claims that there is no evidence for this. It is, however, a matter of history that he "played for such high stakes that even General Tauentzien expostulated with him." Lessing himself justifies this habit by saying that the eager attention which he gave to the faro

table set his clogged machine in motion and brought the stagnant juices into circulation. Goethe refers to his gambling in the following words:

> Lessing was fond of casting off personal dignity because he was confident that he could resume it at any time; and he delighted at that period to lead a dissipated life in taverns and society, since he needed constantly a counterpoise to his powerfully laborious soul.

Again, applying our high standard of morality, it would be perhaps impossible, however charitably disposed we might be to do so, to explain away Dessing's relations to Frau König, who within a reasonable time after the death of her husband became his wife. Inordinate affection for the wife of an intimate friend is in keeping neither with lofty philosophy nor with common decency. "There is," says a recent writer, "reason to believe that he had to smother a feeling toward the wife of his friend, which, as it appeared hopeless, made him desirous of leaving the city of Hamburg." These facts are mentioned, not for the purpose of degrading a great man, but to show that the evangelical clergy of his time and country were fighting no more for orthodoxy in opposing him than for a high standard of morality.

Lessing was a professional critic, and a destructive one at that. Wit and satire were his native elements. Even as a schoolboy he was dreaded as the most sarcastic of all his fellow-pupils. He cultivated a taste for satirical criticism. Two reasons may be assigned for this: first, that as he was thrown entirely upon his own resources it might be said that no species of writing would afford him more remuneration; and, secondly, that there could be no finer field for him wherein to display his mighty genius and great learning. Many a German has achieved glory and renown, like Colonel Robert Ingersoll and other lesser lights in this country, not because of any special originality, but owing to a reckless daring which terrified many a grander intellect. We would not for a moment degrade Lessing by comparing him with Ingersoll; nevertheless, both have some traits in common. Lessing manifested a genuine fondness for controversy. It was a part of his business. No subject was either too trifling or too sacred for his vigorous pen. Now we find him criticising the method of teaching in vogue in the public schools and universities of his country;

now a poor pastor of Halle who had produced a faulty translation of Horace is made to smart under his whip; now Gottsched and other admirers of the French drama are held up to ridicule. Klopstock is too full of feeling; Wieland is too extravagantly fanciful. Voltaire, his natural enemy, is unmercifully tortured and humiliated; and even Winckelmann did not escape his pungent wit. As to Professor Klotz, he and all his followers are struck down with one fell blow, never to rise again.

In short, Lessing was a free lance, a regular Ishmaelite. The wonder is that he possessed such strength in so many varied fields. He seemed equally at home in art, literature, theology, philology, philosophy, and archæology, and that in all their branches. Having, however, suffered most from the orthodox theologian and those at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, it is but natural that he turned his heaviest batteries upon them. Thus, the most bitter and acrid, certainly the most noted, of all his controversies is that with Pastor Goeze, of Hamburg. This is so inseparably connected with *Nathan the Wise*, his admirers and defenders to the contrary notwithstanding, that it will be well to give a short account of its origin. The anti-Goeze letters were occasioned by the publication of what are known as the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments.* These were seven papers issued by Lessing from a manuscript left by the late Professor Reimarus, of Hamburg, entitled, *A Vindication of the Natural Worship of God.* Though Lessing sympathized with the views expressed in these papers as a whole, yet he disagreed in some minor points. Bishop Hurst has given such an excellent summary of these papers that we could do no better than reproduce it here. Says Bishop Hurst:

> The *Fragments* published by Lessing contain the gist of his [Reimarus's] entire work, and contributed far more to the growth of skepticism than a larger production would probably have done. The historical evidences of Christianity and of the doctrine of inspiration, according to the *Fragments*, are clad in such a garb of superstition that they do not merit the credence of sensible men. The confessions framed at different periods of the history of the Church have savored far more of human weakness than of divine knowledge. They bear but slight traces of biblical truth. The Trinity is incomprehensible, and the heart should not feel bound to lean upon what reason cannot fathom. Nearly all the Old Testament history is a string of legends and myths which an advanced age should indignantly reject. Christ never really intended to

establish a permanent religion; the work of his apostles was something unanticipated by himself. His design was to restore Judaism to its former state, throw off the Roman yoke, and declare himself king. His public entry into Jerusalem was designed to be his installation as a temporal king; but he failed in his dependence upon popular support, and, instead of attaining a throne, he died on the cross. Belief in scriptural records is perfectly natural to the Christian, for he has imbibed it from education and training. Reason is forestalled in the ordinary education of children. They are baptized before they are old enough to exercise their own reasoning faculties. Faith in Scripture testimony is really of no greater value than the belief of the Mohammedan or Jew in their oracles, unless reason be permitted to occupy the seat of judgment.

No sooner were these radical views published than the entire theological world of Germany was in uproar. The controversy raged violently for some time, but was suddenly stopped. Lessing was compelled to withdraw in dishonor, not because he was necessarily wrong, but because the enemy were more numerous and powerful than he. The Consistory of Brunswick prevailed upon the civil government to interfere, the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* were confiscated, and Lessing was forbidden henceforth to publish anything, anywhere, on theological subjects, without first having submitted the manuscript to the censors and having obtained permission from the authorities. This, as might be expected, served only to fan the flame, and the smoldering ashes are made to burn again. Lessing now defiantly turns about and attacks his most insolent enemy, Goeze, from another quarter. If the use of the press is forbidden him he will turn the stage into the battlefield, from which he may challenge his enemies with impunity. He says, "I must see if they will let me preach undisturbed in my old pulpit, the theater."

There are those who disclaim that *Nathan the Wise* is in any way connected with the controversy occasioned by the *Fragments.* This, however, is positively wrong, and needs no refutation. The fact that he had planned such a drama some time before the controversy arose proves nothing. Even Kuno Fischer, though denying that *Nathan* owed its genesis to the anti-Goeze letters, yet admits that Lessing's poetical works stand in very close connection with his critical prose writings. He says, "The *Literaturbriefe* are followed by *Minna von Barnhelm*, the *Dramaturgie* by *Emilia Galotti*,

and the anti-Goeze writings by *Nathan*." While it is possible that the idea of this great drama was suggested by the works of Cardan and Boccaccio, it is evident that the work as we have it is a culmination of the above-mentioned controversy. *Nathan* was commenced in the very year the Brunswick government forbade the publication of Lessing's theological papers. The subjects discussed in the poem are virtually the same as those in the *Fragments*. Both were written in the interest of religious toleration, and to show that the higher type of religion was possible even outside of the Christian Church. Lessing maintained that "all creeds, if sincere and accompanied by benevolence, are to be honored because, although each cannot be the true creed, yet each will in that way fulfill the object of all religion." Lessing, like Voltaire, advocated religious toleration; but, as Hagenbach has profoundly observed, "There is a toleration of shallowness, of cowardice, of religious indecision, of religious indifference—a toleration that easily and finally degenerates into intolerance, which is the hatred of everyone who wishes to hold and profess a firm and positive religion." This language may be too strong if applied to Lessing; yet his ruthless criticisms in the various fields of learning are far from breathing the highest type of toleration.

The unfairness of Lessing in his *Nathan* is manifest in the selection of his characters. The lay brother, Daja, the templar, and the patriarch are Christians; Saladin, Sittah, and possibly the dervish represent the Mohammedan religion; while Nathan is a Jew, and Recha, the flower of the drama, if anything, is a freethinker. We are aware that there are those who firmly maintain that Lessing did not intend to make these characters representatives of their religions, much less to present Christianity in the very poorest light. The question is, however, quite germane, why he selected such unworthy persons from among the Christians. Why should Nathan, the Jew, be the paragon of virtue, and why should the Patriarch of Jerusalem be the embodiment of all that is heartless, bigoted, and hypocritical? The latter is a man so utterly lost to virtue as to think his wickedness pleasing to God. No fair-minded man would so caricature Christians and so seek to enhance the virtues of Saladin or Nathan at the risk of degrading

[illegible]

[illegible]

the religion of his fathers. The world has rarely seen a more perfect type of manhood than Lessing's Nathan. It is possible, but not probable, that Jews like him might be found outside the realm of imagination. Judaism, however, as such, is not good soil for the production of such perfect characters. Be that as it may, no one will deny that better types of Christians than are found in this drama were very abundant in Lessing's day, while worse specimens could not have been found anywhere in the whole world. Vain will it be to say that Lessing wished to show that the most atrocious persons might profess the most tolerant of all religions and yet be without one spark of true cosmopolitan charity; while, on the other hand, "a member of the most exclusive religion might, like Nathan, raise himself above the religious notions in which he had been brought up."

The story of the three rings, beautiful though it be, is yet misleading. It assumes that one religion is as good as another, or, what amounts to the same, that no religion is true; and, further, that, if at any time there was a true religion, it was so long ago that now, after the lapse of millenniums, no one can divine what it was. Religion is compared to a ring:

> In gray antiquity there lived a man,
> In Eastern lands, who had received a ring
> Of priceless worth from a beloved hand.

This ring was handed down from father to son for many ages. For a time all went well; but finally the true ring became confounded with other counterfeited rings, so that each of three sons sincerely believed he had the genuine one:

> Questioning then ensues,
> Strife, and appeal to law; but all in vain.
> The genuine ring was not to be distinguished—
> As indistinguishable as, with us,
> The true religion.

Now, what is Lessing's natural conclusion? It is that there is no true religion, or if there be that no one has the power to tell which it is. Thus, the toleration preached in this drama is the natural outcome of hostility to all forms of positive religion, a tolerance which has its origin in doubt and "in skepticism as to the possibility of man's ever attaining absolute truth." If we

are to believe Lessing's own words, he did not care for the attainment of the truth. Said he on one occasion:

> If God should hold in his right hand all truth, and in his left the everlasting impulse and love of search after truth, although accompanied with the condition that I should ever err, and should say, "Choose!" I would choose the left with humility and say, "Give, Father! Pure truth belongs to thee alone!"

The admission that truth cannot be found or the conclusion arrived at in *Nathan the Wise* tends to weaken a longing for the truth, to indulge a willingness to remain in the dark and an inclination to skepticism—all of which are calculated to destroy the reader's respect for revealed religion. If toleration is taught at all in the drama it is simply in that we feel ourselves plunged into an abyss of error, from which we have no hope of ever emerging. Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* has helped as much as any book written in any language to unchristianize the German people. It has been one of the most potent factors in spreading agnosticism over Europe. Lessing did well in advocating the greatest liberty in matters of faith and conscience, in emphasizing good works and brotherly love. Hatred, bigotry, and intolerance cannot promote any religion. But, after all, were there many in Lessing's days who were more intolerant than he himself? Though he praised St. John for his lovable spirit and godlike disposition, did he himself at any period of his life imitate the beloved disciple? Was his spirit of controversy the natural fruit of Johannean love? Were those merciless castigations inflicted upon Pastor Lange, or the barbed darts fired at Goeze, or even the savage strictures upon Winckelmann the best that any religion could offer?

> Unless a love of virtue light the flame,
> Satire is, more than those he brands, to blame.
> He hides behind a magisterial air
> His own offenses, and strips others bare.

As Kuno Fischer says:

> There is a toleration which the world commends and which most men practice, priding themselves upon it as virtue, though it is the easiest thing in the world. It requires us only to be indifferent to the belief of others. When we have once thrown religion upon that heap of things we characterize as "trash" it is very easy not to concern ourselves about it in

other people, especially as the reasoning faculty is thereby saved a great labor. I know not whether this so-called toleration is better than its opposite.

The unfairness of Lessing shows itself most plainly when we consider that he borrows the leading doctrines of Christianity without giving this blessed religion any credit for them. This is a grave fault, and one very common with skeptics in all lands. The truth is that the idea of religious toleration has never been emphasized by any great religious body except the Christians. Christianity, *par excellence*, preaches "the love which is identical with wisdom," the era of peace on earth and good will to men. The great task of the followers of Christ has been all through the ages to unite men—all men—in the bonds of love and purity. Professor Primer puts the case strongly, as follows:

> Judaism did not extend the love of neighbor beyond its national boundary, and prayed for the destruction of the enemy. Islamism extended its neighborly love to all the races of its confession and put the others to fire and sword. Christianity broke down the barriers, and brought true humanity into the world, and extended the love of neighbor to the love of mankind in general. . . . This love we know is the touchstone of real religion. But Lessing, through *Nathan*, makes it the property of the Mohammedan, Jewish, and Christian religions, when it belongs to the Christian alone.

W. W. Davies.

ART. VII.—THE REFUGEE CHURCHES IN ENGLAND.

THE situation of the island of Great Britain was peculiarly favorable to the Protestant fugitives from persecution on the Continent. England offered at times to the Huguenots of France a place of refuge even more advantageous than Holland or Switzerland, hospitable though these were. Holland, during the period of the persecutions of the sixteenth century, was engaged in a long and unceasing warfare to secure her own religious freedom, as well as her political independence. Moreover, the Dutch republic and Switzerland were comparatively small countries, and Switzerland, at least, was compelled by reason of its geographical position to stand upon its guard and always to exercise more or less circumspection, so as not too openly to defy the power of the French monarchs. The only wonder is that the independence both of the cantons and of the republic of Geneva was so well respected. It was a standing occasion of annoyance to the Roman Catholic rulers of France and of Savoy, that they had by their very doors a little city at the outlet of Lake Leman which, though scarcely more than a fair-sized town in population and in extent of dependent territory, dared to offer an asylum to those that were persecuted for righteousness' sake as heretics. The plots formed against Geneva from both quarters were numerous, but were providentially frustrated by events that aroused the astonishment even of unbelievers. In a few cases, however, the sanctity of neutral territory was violated, and men whom the French government was specially desirous of seizing were even kidnapped beyond the limits of the kingdom and, like poor Marcilly, captured on Swiss soil, were taken forcibly to France and executed there in defiance of all the principles of international law. More frequently, the French minister resident made remonstrances, and even threats, which even Berne and Geneva dared not altogether disregard. Thus it was that, with all their far-famed hospitality, Berne and Geneva were obliged occasionally to request the refugees to go farther from the French frontier. Thus it was also that when, in the eighteenth century, the proscribed Protestants of the "Desert" were desirous of establishing a training school or theological seminary, to prepare men

for the perilous work of preaching in the secret conventicles of the south of France, they were compelled to place it at Lausanne, because the Genevese did not covet the dangerous honor of having it in their city.

England, because of its strength and its insular character, was free from all such fears and from the necessity of such extreme caution. Besides this, it was far more accessible to the numerous Protestants of the western, and especially the northwestern, seaboard. A few hours' sail with a fair breeze would bring the Huguenot from Normandy to the southern shore of Kent; and, without utterly annihilating commerce (which no French monarch dared to do), it was impossible to prevent Protestants, and particularly Protestant sailors, from taking refuge on English soil until the storm of persecution should have passed. The story of the little seaport of Rye and its relations with Dieppe, three centuries ago the most commercial maritime city of France, is a curious one. The Protestants comprised probably the largest, and certainly by far the most industrious, part of the population of Dieppe. Accustomed as were the Dieppois to make long voyages—its navigators even claimed, though without good reason, that they had circumnavigated Africa before the Portuguese—they thought nothing, when threatened with religious persecution, of crossing the channel with their wives and children. As they took their pastors with them, and as their elders and deacons were of their number, the Huguenot churches were merely transferred from Dieppe to Rye and its neighbor, Winchelsea. There was little or no interruption of public worship, and on British soil the meetings of their consistory or session and the administration of discipline were as regular as on Norman ground. The migration and the return took place not once nor twice, but as often as severities increased or diminished. The ebb and flow between Dieppe and Rye continued for many years at irregular intervals, in the latter part of the sixteenth century.* In the words of Baron Schickler, the history of the refugee church of Rye is so closely bound to that of Dieppe that the former may properly be considered as an annex of the Norman parish.

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* See that interesting chronicle of the seventeenth century first printed by the *Société Rouennaise de Bibliophiles*, in 1878, under the title *Histoire de la Réformation à Dieppe*, 1557-1657, par Guillaume et Jean Daval.

The importance of the church at Rye was transient and fluctuating. It was otherwise with the French and Dutch churches of the interior, formed by fugitives who came, not with the view of returning at once to their native lands as soon as a return was practicable, but with the expectation of remaining long, if not permanently, and of whom great numbers helped, by the trades they introduced, to build up the manufactures of the country that became their new home.

The history of the refugee churches is an interesting one, but has not been written until lately. Mr. John Southerden Burn, it is true, brought out, years ago, a single volume of great merit—*The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England, from the Reign of Henry VIII to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (London, 1846). But, though full of curious and valuable antiquarian information, the limits of the book were too contracted for an adequate treatment. Rev. Dr. David C. A. Agnew's work on the *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, quite different in character, and even more valuable to the historical student, is preeminently biographical and genealogical. It is mainly, as the subtitle indicates, a study of "the Huguenot Refugees and their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland." Each of the editions, of which there were three, including the first publication of the book in 1866, and the last, issued, just before the lamented author's death, in 1877, marks a distinct step in the mastery of the subject. Nowhere else can the individual fortunes of such great leaders as the three Dukes of Schomberg, or the two Marquises of Ruvigny (the younger better known as the Earl of Galway), or the adventures of a host of other men that occupied less conspicuous places be read to better advantage.

But, without disparagement of the great value of the works of Burn and Agnew in their special departments, it may be said with truth that the connected history of the French and Walloon churches in England was never written until Baron Fernald de Schickler undertook to treat of it in the three handsome volumes which appeared in 1892.* The author, an enlightened and enthusiastic student of Huguenot history, has

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* *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre.* Par le Baron F. de Schickler. 3 vols., royal 8vo. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1892.

devoted his time and contributed nobly of his means to the prosecution of his favorite branch of knowledge. In 1865 he succeeded in the presidency of the French Protestant Historical Society Mr. Charles Read, who is entitled more than any other man to be called the founder of that most important learned society. Under Baron Schickler's administration it has thriven wonderfully, and the monthly *Bulletin* published by it has become more and more indispensable to all investigators of the past of French Protestantism. In 1885 Mr. Schickler secured the permanence, and room for the future growth, of the now magnificent library of the society by the gift of a large and commodious building in the *Rue des Saints Pères*, in the city of Paris, where, thanks to the munificent contributions of books and manuscripts made by himself and other generous friends, there is a collection of works upon this special subject unrivaled elsewhere. The first fruits of Baron Schickler's careful researches were given to the world in a sketch of the refugee churches in all countries, contributed to Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, and subsequently printed as a separate monograph of about one hundred and twenty pages. Only a part was given to the refugee churches in England, which form the sole theme of his more recent work. The latter is a book of extensive, minute, and conscientious scholarship. The plan is excellent, the parts are woven into a connected and entertaining narrative, and the style, which is clear, forcible, and dignified, is not unworthy of the noble subject of which the work treats. Strictly speaking, the third volume lies outside of the narrative, being devoted exclusively to the documents (all of them either hitherto inedited or inaccessible to most readers because of their rarity) upon which the book is in great part built. A few chapters in the second volume also are taken up with the history of the reformed churches in the Channel Islands, or Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, and Aurigny, which, although close to the French coast, belong to Great Britain. Baron Schickler's researches only come down to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685; but a second work, in two or more volumes, will doubtless take up the story where the present volumes stop and carry it down to our own times. With this continuation we shall have a work which the author may well view with satis-

faction, as a noble fruit of his long and careful investigations and a notable contribution to our best historical literature.

The refugee churches do not necessarily date back of the reign of Edward VI, although the refugees began to make their way to England, in greater or less numbers, as early as the reign of Henry VIII. It is, indeed, among the singularities of Henry's conduct that he tolerated Protestant fugitives from the Continent at the very time that he proscribed the profession of the doctrines of Luther among his own subjects. In 1540 a number of Protestants and Roman Catholics were executed on one and the same occasion at the Tower of London, objects of the king's impartial detestation—the Roman Catholics being hung as rebels and the Protestants burned as heretics. Yet, so early as in 1537, Henry distinctly declined to extradite French refugees at the request of Francis I. Clearly, however, theirs could only have been a precarious existence in England, tolerated rather than protected. The few records of the naturalization of some of the number refer to them as French or Walloon workmen, but do not touch upon their religion.

The era of liberty was marked by the accession of Edward, in 1547; and the six years of his all too brief reign were so full of achievement and of promise as to leave undying regret that so good a prince was not spared to execute the glorious projects he had conceived, and to make of the Church of England a body in full touch and sympathy for all time with the reformed Churches of the Continent. In his plans and the plans of his broad-minded counselors the refugee churches were to play a part which has been too generally overlooked or misunderstood. The persecuted Protestants of every part of Europe were, indeed, welcomed for their own sake and for the sake of their common Christianity. As good, honest men and women, they were expected to add to the best elements of the population. As, in many cases, skilled artisans, they would, it was hoped, increase the manufactures, and so the wealth, of the country. But they were also members of Protestant communities that had enjoyed for some time the advantage of the training of the best reformed Churches of the Continent, of Churches organized and conducted by men who, to great piety and devotion, added the most scholarly attainments of the age. In this capacity they might serve as examples and their organizations as an

object lesson to the English churches just emerging from the darkness of subjection to a spiritual despotism that differed from the Roman chiefly by the substitution of the royal for the papal supremacy. So far as the great Protestant doctors were concerned who were invited from beyond the Channel and the North Sea, it is a fact that must not be lost sight of that they were brought to England by Edward VI, by Somerset, and by Cranmer, much less in order that there might be an opportunity of extending fraternal protection to them than for the purpose of securing their wise counsels and active assistance in the work of establishing and organizing the Church on a proper basis. Themselves much in doubt and wavering in their views as to the best method of procedure, quite aware of the difficulties confronting them in their arduous work, and particularly in dealing with a clergy which was but half reformed, the king's advisers looked eagerly abroad for help and guidance.*

Of the remarkable group of theologians whom Cranmer gathered about him at Lambeth Palace, Martin Bucer, of Strasburg, Paul Fagius, and Peter Martyr Vermigli were undoubtedly the most celebrated, and English Protestantism made good use of them by calling them to take theological chairs at Oxford and Cambridge, where they did much to further the spread of evangelical views among the clergy. There was plenty of room for their exertions and the exertions of men like them; for, as one of their number, Fagius, observed of the field of their labors in England, "Everything here is complete chaos." But, after all, it was a reformer less famous than either Bucer or Peter Martyr that, by his efforts at organization, seemed destined to exert the most direct influence upon the permanent constitution of the Church. This man was John à Lasco, a Polish nobleman, who, having been converted to the Gospel, devoted himself first to the evangelization of his own native land, but, failing to realize his hopes, subsequently labored with great success at Embden, in East Friesland. It was this success, which proved him to be a man possessed of remarkable abilities as an organizer, that led to his being invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his associates to come to their assistance in a critical emergency. Nor did he disappoint their expectations. Having come after reiterated invitations, he

* Schickler, vol. 1, p. 9.

first made a short stay of six months (1548–1549), and a year later, being forced to leave Embden in consequence of the "Interim," he returned and remained for a longer period. His labors in connection with the organization of the little French churches of Protestant refugees at London would have little importance in themselves. They derive their great significance from a fact which à Lasco himself informs us of in the dedication of his book, *De Ordinatione Ecclesiarum Peregrinarum in Anglia*, to King Sigismund of Poland in 1555. This fact is that Edward VI, who was inclined to reform the public worship of the Church as speedily as possible by the removal of certain remaining features of popery, concluded to do this gradually and only so far as the laws of the realm would permit, and meantime resolved to make a practical use of the churches which the strangers should be permitted to form, as nearly as possible upon apostolic models both in doctrine and practice. The king and his advisers, à Lasco included, "thought that, encouraged by this example, the English churches themselves would be unanimous throughout the kingdom in reverting to the apostolic worship in all its purity." * It must not be supposed that all the important concessions made to the French churches, of which we have not, unfortunately, room to speak, escaped opposition. The bishops, making the lord treasurer their mouthpiece, were instant in desiring that the foreigners should be required to conform to the ceremonies of the established Church of England. In fact, they made their influence so felt that a year or two elapsed after the refugees had been allowed to have preaching before they were permitted to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was really the firmness of the king himself that secured them this right in the end. The institution of such an office as the superintendency, it may be noticed, so far from being a concession to episcopacy, seems to have had its origin in a desire to have some one at the head of the foreign Church who might defend them against the assaults of the episcopal party.

King Edward in his grant had given to the foreigners the late church of the Augustinian Friars, and had ordained that it be henceforth designated as the Church of Jesus. Here both Flemings and French, or Walloons, worshiped, each in their own

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* John à Lasco, in Schickler, vol. i, p. 32.

tongue. Within two years the congregations became too large for this double use of the one edifice, and the king gave to the French another building, the chapel belonging to the hospital of Saint Anthony, in Threadneedle Street. The ministers in their official acts uniformly styled this the French church; but the influx of Walloons, or of inhabitants of the Low Countries speaking the French language, was so great under the reign of Elizabeth that outsiders ordinarily called it the Walloon Church. Other churches arose at nearly the same time with the church at London. The Duke of Somerset invited a colony of French and Walloon weavers to settle upon his estates, twenty-five miles from Bath, at Glastonbury, the ruins of whose famous abbey, founded by St. Augustine, or Austin, in the seventh century, now form the chief or sole object of interest to the visitor. This Glastonbury church, too, had its liturgy, not modeled upon that of à Lasco, but fashioned after the Strasburg liturgy. It is of interest that this, like that of à Lasco, had a funeral service and a more extended prayer.

Queen Elizabeth by no means viewed the French Protestants with the favor which Edward had displayed to them. Mr. Froude has shown, and Douglass Campbell has recently emphasized in his remarkable history (*The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*), the insincerity and tergiversations that marked her dealings with foreign Protestants and Protestantism, all arising from the fact that never, until after the great Armada, did she lose the hope and the desire of reconciliation with the pope and the Roman Catholic Church. Against the Huguenots, as Presbyterians and as closely bound to Geneva, she had the strongest aversion. John Knox had written his famous treatise against the rule of women; and she held Calvin and Beza accountable for having approved, or at least not having openly disapproved, the Scottish reformer's views. Yet her reign was, upon the whole, by far the most prosperous period in the history of the refugee churches. The cruel butchery of the reformers by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands and the proscriptions and persecutions attending the civil wars in France drove greatly increased numbers of fugitives beyond the Channel. Hence a number of new congregations arose, the most interesting being that of Canterbury, for

which the attempt has been made to discover an origin in the reign of Edward. Everyone has heard of the church of Walloons which was domiciled by the hospitality of the English in the crypt beneath the great cathedral, and every traveler knows that the place where the French services continue even now to be held divides the interest of the visitor with the tomb of Thomas à Becket and with the spot where the archbishop was murdered by the knights of King Henry II. But not everybody knows that such was the compassion felt for the exiles for religion's sake, and such the anxiety of the English to domesticate the industries which the exiles had brought with them from their native homes, that they were not merely permitted to worship God after their own accustomed rites, but encouraged to hold their schools and even, for a while, to set up their looms and engage in weaving in the undercroft of the cathedral church of the primate of all England.

Among the great services which the young and flourishing Huguenot Society of London has rendered to the cause of historical research is the recent issue, in one of its "publications," of the hitherto inedited minutes of the meetings of the Presbyteries and Synods of the foreign refugee churches.[*] One of the articles of the fifteenth Colloquy, or Presbytery, which met in London, April 23–27, 1601, relates to the cases, apparently not at all rare, where the ministers were outvoted by the much more numerous elders. Consulted by the brethren at Canterbury, whether in such a contingency the ministers might not at least exercise a right to suspend the execution of the resolution which they disapproved until the next meeting of the Presbytery, the Colloquy of London declined to take any action that would seem to deny the parity of the eldership, to which, by the constitution drawn up by John à Lasco, the Church was committed, and confined itself to recommending mature deliberation and the avoidance of all precipitate action.[†] In the words of Baron Schickler:

> The article brings out prominently the preponderant influence of the elders, accruing to them by the great ecclesiastical part allotted to their functions in the Discipline of à Lasco. Each elder has the charge

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[*] *Les Actes des Colloques des Églises Françaises et des Synodes des Églises Étrangères refugiées en Angleterre*, 1581-1654. Transcribed and edited by Adrian Charles Chamier. Lymington, 1890.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

of a certain number of souls. It is he that makes inquiry into their lives and morals. It is he who gives or withholds the token for the Lord's Supper. Hence come the appeals frequently carried up to the colloquies, and the annoyance of a number of pastors temporarily among the refugees, subjected to the supervision of the elder of their quarter, and treated by him in the same manner as the other members of the flock, without regard to their ministerial character.*

The real tribulations of the refugee churches began with the reign of Charles I, and particularly with the efforts of Archbishop Laud to secure absolute conformity. Thus far the resident French and Flemish Protestants had been able to make good their position as against the authority of the Anglican bishop: "We are in the diocese," said they, "but not of the diocese." Now the High Church party, of whom Laud was the foremost representative, made it one of their chief objects to curtail the privileges accorded to the foreign churches of the same reformed faith with the Church of England. Many readers of ecclesiastical history are probably unaware of the violent antipathy which Laud had conceived against the refugee churches, and of the disastrous results that antipathy wrought upon his own destiny. Even before his exaltation to the archiepiscopal see, but when, as Bishop of London, he already exercised a powerful influence upon the Privy Council, he presented a paper setting forth both the peril in which the State stood from the foreign Protestants and the cure for the evil. Mr. Schickler gives the document in a French translation. Mr. W. J. C. Moens published the original in the appendix of his book, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich: their History and Registers*, 1565–1832.† The title of this curious sketch, which betrays all too clearly the future archbishop's policy, is, "Report and Remedy concerning the French and Dutch Churches, as they now stand in many parts of this Kingdom; First, the Danger, then, the Public Remedy." Admitting, in the first instance, that it was "honor and piety in this State" to welcome these churches "because at that time there was persecution upon them in their owne countreys, and the peace with which God then blessed this kingdom was their safety," the writer proceeded to observe that it was never the intention that the refugees

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* *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, p. 339.

† In two parts, Lymington, 1887, 1888. Publication of the Huguenot Society of London.

should continue in England, marrying and many of them having "plentiful fortunes and lands," and "living like an absolute divided body from the Church of England established." This must needs work upon their affections, and alienate them from the State, "or at least make them ready for any innovation that may sort better with their humor." As they were now a Church within a Church, so in time they would grow to be "a kind of another commonwealth within this, and so ready for that which I hold not fit to express any farther." Living as they did "in all or most of the haven towns," especially such as lay "fittest for France and the Low Countreys," were occasion offered, "God knows what advantage they may make to themselves or make for others." This example, moreover, was injurious, "for many are confirmed in their stubborn ways of disobedience to the church government, seeing them so freely suffered in this great and populous city." Differing from the English in church discipline, these French and Dutch churches ought no more to be tolerated than the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England are tolerated beyond the seas. Such being the "danger," the "remedy" suggested consisted in first getting accurate information as to the number of the foreigners, and then, if they were to continue as a divided body from both Church and State, to treat them as strangers, and not as natives; that is, to compel them to pay double duties, as strangers are accustomed to do, and to deprive them of all special immunities, until such times as they would live as other subjects lived. He said further:

> When it shall be thought fit actually to reduce them to live as other subjects do, both in relation to Church and State, the way I conceive may be to have them fairly warned in an ecclesiastical way, for every man with his household (if he be not a newcomer, but a born subject) to repair to his parish church here, to conform himself to prayers, sacraments, etc.; and, if any receive not according to canon and law, then to excommunicate him or them. And by that time the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* hath been served upon some few, it may be the rest will yield themselves.

Here was a very pretty work of persecution laid out to be inflicted upon the offspring of the men and women who had crossed the British Channel for the purpose of avoiding persecution in their native countries. Laud had shown very clearly

what might be expected of him as soon as, by the favor of Charles I, he should obtain free scope for his intolerant action. So far as that action concerned the English Puritans, this is, of course, not the place for its discussion. We have only to do with the particular display of his malice against the French churches. On December 19, 1634, by the famous "Injunctions," issued in his name by Sir Nathaniel Brent, his vicar general, the foreign churches received the double order, that all their members born in England should attach themselves to the churches of the parishes in which they resided and there listen to the word of God and perform all the duties of parishioners; while those members of foreign birth might, indeed, attend the refugee churches, but must use, after March 1, 1635, the English liturgy faithfully translated into the French and Flemish tongues. The alarm felt by the Walloons and their associates at this order led to the assembling of what was really the first Synod of the foreign churches. There was good reason for alarm. The archbishop was not only deaf to all remonstrance, but he answered every appeal with hard and insulting terms. He accused the foreigners of sitting at the communion in their churches as they would sit at the tavern, said that these churches were nests which he intended to reduce to catholic obedience, and charged them with being the cause of the growth both of papacy and schism.* King Charles went even further, and refused to listen to the address of Marmet, deputy of the churches. Even the mayor and common council of Canterbury became alarmed at the turn affairs were taking, and protested against the damage their town would receive should the intolerance of the government lead to the loss of the industries brought by the refugees from France and the Netherlands. This question, they said, more nearly affected their city than any other that had been raised within the memory of man.

The arbitrary course of Archbishop Laud was the cause of his overthrow. In 1640 he was arrested, and shortly after he was put in the Tower of London, where he languished three years before being put to death. It is of particular interest to notice that the treatment to which he had subjected the foreign churches was one of the distinct charges preferred against him by the House of Commons. The twelfth article of his im-

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*Schickler, vol. ii, p. 26.

peachment before the House of Lords, December 18, 1640, was in these words: *

> He hath traytorously endeavoured to cause division and discord between the Church of England and other reformed Churches; and to that end hath suppressed and abrogated the privilege and immunities which have been by his Majesty and his royal ancestors granted to the French and Dutch churches in this kingdom; and divers other ways hath expressed his malice and disaffection to these churches, that so by such disunion the papists might have more advantage for the overthrow and entirpation of both.

No wonder that the poor refugees at Norwich and elsewhere felt and testified great joy at the downfall of their oppressor, and said in their quaint phrase, "It is merry with the lambs when the wolfe is shut up." †

In 1641, a few months after Laud's overthrow, the foreign churches for the fourth time published their Ecclesiastical Discipline. The two most important points in this latest revision were, first, the removal of the last vestiges of the parity of the ministers and elders, on which the Discipline of John à Lasco had so strongly insisted; and, secondly, the erasure of all references to the office of superintendent, the late troubles having rendered episcopal authority, or anything in the least resembling it, peculiarly offensive. In contrasting this fourth Discipline (which, having never been officially abolished, may even be said still to be in force) with its predecessors, Baron Schickler remarks: ‡

> The first Discipline, that of à Lasco (1550), possesses the exuberant wealth of the first days of enthusiasm and faith; it is suited only to a Church strictly marked off and autonomous. The second, that of Des Gallars (1560), establishes the Calvinistic type with the circumspection necessary in the case of a Church placed under the supervision of a foreign ecclesiastical power. Applying to an assemblage of congregations that which was originally destined only to a single one, the third Discipline (1588, 1589) strengthens the authority of the consistory over the flock and, by the colloquies, hopes to furnish the churches a center of resistance against uprisings from within or oppression from without. It is to the preponderance of the action of these colloquies (presbyteries) that the fourth Discipline (1641) tends. It seeks to take advantage of a momentary eclipse of the Anglican Church, to free itself of the control of that Church and to secure to the working of the Presbyterian system its full independence and regularity.

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* Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, vol. i, p. 96.

† *Ibid., ubi supra.*

‡ Vol. ii, p. 76.

The establishment of the Commonwealth did not mark the permanent cessation of the annoyances to which the refugee churches were subjected. They recommenced with the accession of Charles II. This monarch returned from his exile with no kindly feelings toward the Presbyterians, whether of English or foreign extraction. It it true that during the years he spent in France he not infrequently attended service in the Huguenot churches of Caen and Rouen, in Normandy, and of La Rochelle. But he steadfastly refused to hear preaching in the great "temple" of Charenton, the place of worship of the Parisian Protestants. This refusal was due, perhaps, not so much to the fact that his Anglican advisers accused the Presbyterians of having contributed to bring about the death of his father, as to the circumstance that, had he attended the Huguenot church of Charenton, he would probably have seen Cromwell's envoys occupying the bench formerly set apart for the ambassadors of the King of England.* The new king soon had an opportunity to exhibit his disposition toward nonconformity, even among the foreign Protestants. There was a dispute between the authorities of the old Threadneedle Street Walloon Church and a congregation that had been gathered in Westminster. The former appealed to his majesty to close this new place of worship, the latter to recognize its continuance. Charles solved the difficulty by permitting as many of the Westminster congregation "as would conform to the Church of England" to take possession of a church which he placed at their disposal. This was the origin of the well-known Savoy Chapel, the first of the Conformist foreign churches, which subsequently became numerous.†

The famous Act of Uniformity (1662), so disastrous in the religious history of England, did not directly affect the refugee churches. If for no other reason, it was plainly impolitic to divert the stream of profitable immigration that brought to Great Britain skilled workmen, who might easily be compelled to take refuge in the more hospitable Netherlands. The bill itself contained a proviso that the penalties under the new law should not extend to the foreigners or aliens of the reformed churches authorized, or to be authorized, by the king's majesty,

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* Maximilian de l'Angle, in Schickler, vol. ii, p. 205.

† Schickler, vol. ii, p. 218.

his heirs, and successors in England. Yet there was a wide door left open for annoyance; for the government had already, in a previous reign, shown a disposition to restrict the favor it might show the refugee churches to the first generation, and to compel the children of the foreigners to join the parish churches with all other native-born Englishmen.

Two difficulties seriously checked the flow of emigration from France to England in those dreary years in which the persecution under Louis XIV was assuming more and more severity, culminating in the formal revocation of the Edict of Nantes—years in which such Huguenots as could make their escape from the tyrant's dominions turned their eyes longingly to the Protestant land beyond the Channel. Those difficulties were the lack of any general naturalization law and the attitude of the established Church of England toward the churches of their brethren of the same reformed faith on the Continent.

Any one that will read the very entertaining Savile correspondence, published for the first time by the Camden Society,* will learn from the letters of the worthy brother of the Duke of Halifax how great was the damage sustained by England, through the supineness of Parliament or its actual opposition to the project of making it easy for a French Protestant refugee to obtain English citizenship. It was no fault of Henry Savile (nor indeed of Halifax) that the project miscarried. His letters were full of it. For example, he wrote to Halifax from Paris, June 5, 1679:†

> The Archbishop of Paris and the Père de la Chaise do all they can to prevail with this king to make him revenge the quarrel of the English Catholics upon the French Protestants, who tremble for fear of some violent persecution and are ready to go into England in such vast numbers as would be a great advantage to the nation, if you would by easy naturalization make it in the least easy to them.

And he promoted the emigration he desired also by his friendly intercourse with the French Protestants. On one occasion he wrote:

> I hear from England I shall be forced to keep a chaplain, which I never less needed, having never failed Charenton one Sunday since I came

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* *Letters to and from Henry Savile, Esq., Envoy at Paris, and Vice Chamberlain to Charles II and James II.* London, 1858.

† *Savile Correspondence*, p. 93.

> into France. How much more that is for the king's service you cannot imagine, unless you saw how kindly those poor people take so small a countenancing as mine is.*

And Halifax, though popularly accused (but certainly falsely accused †) of being an atheist, approved of his brother's course from motives of policy. "It hath ever been so much my principle," said he, referring to the encouragement of Huguenot emigration to England, "that I have often wondered at our neglecting a thing we ought to seek; and those that have not zeal enough to endeavor it for the preserving our religion might have wit enough to do it for the encreasing our trade." And he added: "You need not much fear the having a chaplain imposed upon you. . . . I approve your going to Charenton, and your countenancing the Protestants, which I think the principal work of an English minister in France." ‡

Baron Schickler shows, perhaps more clearly than any previous writer, how much the High Church views that became rampant in the reign of Charles II interfered with the choice of England by fugitives from France as their future home. Even could they have obtained "easy naturalization," so as to be exempted from the disabilities and heavy taxes laid on aliens, there remained a prospect of enforced conformity, if not for themselves, for their children. For those fugitives that were ministers there was an additional impediment in the way of the reordination which had now come to be demanded. Early in the seventeenth century full recognition had been accorded to the orders of the reformed Churches:

> In 1617 Bishop Morton refused to reordain a minister who had already been received into the ministry beyond the seas, declaring that he would not give reason for offense to the foreign Churches. Gilbert Primerose had been chaplain of the king and canon of Windsor without episcopal ordination. §

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* *Savile Correspondence*, p. 94.

† Macaulay admits this, and asserts that, "though he sometimes gave scandal by the way in which he exerted his rare powers both of reasoning and ridicule on serious subjects, he seems to have been by no means unsusceptible of religious impressions." *History of England*, vol. i, p. 229.

‡ *Savile Correspondence*, p. 97. Halifax's customary raillery often appears in his letters to his brother. Shortly after this he writes him: "In meantime my credit with the French Protestants I owe chiefly to you; your zeal being so notorious that it throweth luster upon all your poor relations. It is enough to be akin to a man that goeth twice a day to Charenton. Heaven reward you for giving such countenance to the Gospel!"

§ Schickler, vol. ii, p. 249.

But now the English government and the English Church had taken an attitude that was nothing less than insulting to churches and theologians quite equal, if not, indeed, avowedly superior, to the English in learning and ability. As Baron Schickler remarks: *

> The Reformed learned, not without painful astonishment, that not merely was there expected of them an entrance *en masse* into the ranks of the Church of England, but that the adhesion to its forms was judged insufficient so long as the clergyman did not submit to episcopal ordination. To exact admission to deacon's and priest's orders of a venerable minister expelled from the pulpit in which he had, for nearly a half-century, led souls to God, or of the learned theological professor driven out of the Académie in which he had prepared the future leaders of the Church, was to confound them, as Claude said, "as though they were simply laymen," with the candidates their disciples or pupils. It was to undertake to rob them of their pastoral character, received by the laying on of hands of their peers. It was in their eyes, at least, to assail the value and the honor of their past career.

The great orator and writer to whom reference has just been made, Jean Claude, no unequal contestant with Bossuet in the field of controversy, being forced to leave France at an hour's notice when the Edict of Revocation was signed by Louis XIV, declined to go to England, and chose rather to end his life in Holland. The refugee churches of England thus lost the honor of the presence with them of the greatest Protestant of his age, because of the attitude assumed by the English clergy. Yet Claude was not unfriendly to the Church of England, which he had freely characterized as "an elder sister" of the Churches of the Continent. But when his conciliatory words were printed and misinterpreted he did not hesitate to express strongly his belief that, by insisting upon reordination, the English were inflicting irreparable injury upon the Reformation and, therefore, upon themselves; while, on the part of those who submitted to reordination, the concession was a dishonest and cowardly act, for which posterity would hold them responsible. † Jean Claude was not the only great Protestant preacher whom England thus lost the honor of welcoming. Pierre du Bosc, perhaps the only pastor for whose magnificent abilities Louis XIV was betrayed into expressing an almost

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* Schickler, vol. ii, pp. 323, 324.

† "Pour nos ministres c'est une lâcheté et une prévarication que la postérité leur reprochera." Jean Claude to Abram Tessereau, Feb. 2, 1684, in Schickler, vol. ii, p. 327.

unbounded admiration, was deterred from crossing the Channel from the same motives that influenced Claude.

We close our view of the refugee churches with the approach of the great Revolution that expelled the Stuarts and inaugurated an era of better things for English liberties. Baron Schickler's book closes at this point. We sincerely hope that he may carry out his purpose of giving to the world in another work the story of the foreign movement in the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Meanwhile we congratulate him upon the great interest and value of his researches so far as published.

Henry M. Baird.

ART. VIII.—JEAN LAILLIER, THE FICKLE REFORMER —A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE FRENCH REFORMATION.

ULLMANN, in the Preface to his *Reformers before the Reformation*, says:

> Is it possible that Luther and his confederates, or that Zwingli and his, or that the men whom we see taking the field for the pure evangelical doctrine on the banks of the Rhine downward to the Netherlands should have dropped as reformers from heaven or received their impulse and insight from a foreign land? No, certainly. Even the law of historical continuity would require us to suppose corresponding intermediate links—laborers who prepared this particular soil.*

This is also the truth in regard to the beginning of the French Reformation. We generally speak of the Reformation in France in a slighting manner, for the reason that to-day France is not Protestant. We forget the fact that France, in its refugees, contributed much to the stability of England and America and gave Calvin and his system to the world. Many have studied the beginnings of this Reformation, and much interesting information has been collected regarding its period. Men who were bold enough to stand alone and differ from all their associates, and that, too, when toleration was not even a theory, inspire us with the spectacle of their zeal and their display of heroism in righting wrong.

Jean Laillier, or Lellier, as the name is sometimes printed, seems to be either a forgotten or a slighted reformer. He is mentioned by Bernard Picard in connection with Huss, Wyclif, Calvin, and other reformers.† Mr. Henry C. Lea is the only writer in the English language, as far as is known at the present writing, who makes any reference to him.‡ But the original source for what is known of Laillier is the *Register* of the University of Paris. This is copied almost entirely by Fleury in his *Histoire Ecclésiastique.* §

Jean Laillier was a priest of Paris, a graduate of the univer-

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* Vol. i, p. xiii.

† *Histoire Générale des Cérémonies, Mœurs et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde.* 8 vols., folio. Paris, 1741. Vol. iii, p. 338.

‡ *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. i, p. 294; vol. ii, p. 143.

§ Vol. xxiv, pp. 23, *ff.*, Brussels, 1726. This, of course, does not appear in the English abridgment. See also Dupin, *Bibliothèque*, tom. xii, p. 149.

sity, and a licentiate in theology in the year 1484, the year following Luther's birth. In July, 1485, he presented ten radical propositions, some of which were aimed at the most vital doctrines of the Church:

I. "St. Peter received from Christ neither power over the apostles nor primacy."

II. "All those who compose the ecclesiastical hierarchy have received equal power from Jesus Christ, so that the priests are equal in power and jurisdiction in the government of the Church."

III. "The pope cannot remit all punishment by plenary indulgence, even though granted justly and with reason."

IV. "Abbots and priors do not give absolution in virtue of the keys, but by custom only. Therefore confession is not a divine ordinance."

V. "If you ask about the pope, the less said the better."

VI. "The simple priests are useless."

VII. "Those who confess to mendicant monks, even by the prescribed rule, are not absolved, but must confess the same to their priest."

VIII. "John XXIII did not have the power to enforce the decretal *vas electionis*." (This condemned Jean de Poilly.)

IX. "The decretals and decrees of the pope are simply mockeries."

X. "The Romish Church is not the chief of the other Churches."

On the last day of the same month he was cited by the Faculty of the Sorbonne to appear before them. He laid before them his ten propositions, with others. The new propositions were nine in number, and were each answered in turn by the Faculty.

I. "You must keep the commandments of God and the apostles; but as for the commandments of bishops, they are no more than straw. Such destroy the Church by their dreams."

The Faculty agreed that the first part of the proposition was correct, but declared the second part to be scandalous, schismatic, contrary to good morals, to evangelical and apostolical doctrine. Consequently, it must be publicly recanted.

II. "Some give praise to a saint, as if he were in the place from whence Lucifer fell, instead of which they are where

Lucifer is now. As long as such preachers are established the Church of God will never prosper."

The doctors declared this proposition to be false, injurious, seditious, speaking evil of the saints, favorable to a condemned error. It must be recanted.

III. "The rich saints are now canonized and the poor ones forgotten. Therefore I am not obliged to believe that there are saints. Even if the pope receives money or goes upon twenty scaffolds to canonize a saint I am not obliged to believe him such. If one does not believe it he is not thinking wrongly."

The Faculty pronounced this to be false, offending to pious ears, injurious to the apostolic see, and contrary to the piety of the faithful. The last part was heretical.

IV. "If a priest has been married and will come to me and confess I will not command him to do penance."

This was objected to as implying a wrong idea, that a priest could marry after taking holy orders.

V. "The priests of the Oriental Church do not sin if they marry. I think we would not if we did."

To this it was replied that it was false that the priests of the Oriental Church married. This profession of faith made the author guilty of error; and if he held to it with stubbornness he was a heretic.

VI. "For four hundred years it has been forbidden the priests to marry. It may have been by a pope or a dwarf pope [butterfly]. I do not know that he could prevent it."

The professors denied the assertion that priests were allowed to marry previous to the time indicated, and pronounced the last part of the proposition a mockery, derogatory to the apostolic see and the authority of a general council. They further declared that it must be recanted.

VII. "I will give two pieces of silver to anyone who will find for me a passage of Scripture which commands to fast in Lent."

To this it was objected that we are not only to obey the Scripture, but other authority, and that the author of the proposition was heretical on this point. As to the assertion of there being no obligation to fast in Lent, the proposition was false, derogatory to the custom and to good morals, and contrary to the determination of saints.

VIII. "Since the time of St. Silvester the Roman Church is no more the Church of Jesus Christ, but the Church of Cæsar and of money."

This proposition was declared to be injurious to the Church and to the apostolic see, blasphemous, heretical, and long ago condemned.

IX. "One is no more obliged to believe in the legends of the saints than in the chronicles of the kings of France."

The Faculty declared this to be false, offending to pious ears, derogatory to the authority of the Church, and heretical if interpreted universally. This judgment was rendered in a general assembly of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, at the Church of the Mathurins on the fifth day of June, in the year 1486.

Soon after Laillier applied to the university for his degree of doctor. At this time the theological faculty brought forward a new proposition, extracted from former writings of Laillier. This proposition stated that a simple priest could consecrate the holy cil and could ordain as well as the pope or bishop. Further, all priests were equal in power and jurisdiction. St. Thomas had as much authority among the Indians as St. Peter among the Romans. It was decided that this must be publicly recanted, and also that Laillier could not have his degree.

Nothing daunted, he immediately appealed to Parliament. By them the case was sent back to Louis, Bishop of Paris, for investigation. This the bishop began in connection with Jean Cossart, the inquisitor, and four doctors selected by the theological faculty. Laillier presented four propositions reaffirming his position on the following points:

1. The uselessness of fasting in Lent.

2. The limitation of the authority and power of the Church (quoting Gerson and D'Ailly in support of his position).

3. The denial of the Romish position concerning the history of celibacy.

4. He also stated that Gerson, in his treatise, *Of the Spiritual Life of the Soul*, had presented propositions more radical than his own.

The theological faculty immediataly condemned these propositions. They especially denied the statements respecting Gerson. The bishop and inquisitor agreed to proceed separately.

While these investigations were going on the Faculty was not idle. They presented the case to Arnoul Alouf, "Promoter of the Officialty" of Paris. They informed him that the propositions of Laillier had been preached in several places to the scandal of the faithful, and that they had already been condemned by the Faculty of Theology as scandalous, schismatic, damaging to the doctrine of the Church, aiming at rebellion against superiors, blasphematory against the saints who had been canonized by the pope and the apostolic see, suspected of heresy, pernicious, rash, presumptuous, and contrary to good manners. Alouf ordered Laillier to retract publicly after this manner:

"I, Jean Laillier, priest, master of arts, licentiate in theology—noted, suspected, and accused of having published and preached to the people of Paris several scandalous propositions, erroneous, heretical—for my justification, and to make satisfaction to the people who might have been scandalized by it, promise and swear by the holy orders that I do not believe what I have said. I hereby revoke the propositions. I have abjured them, and do now abjure them, without wishing to be obstinate or defend them. I reduce myself to the very truth." Then followed a recantation of each proposition in detail. The recantation took place June 23, 1486, at the command of Alouf and at the added request of the bishop.

The inquisitor had communicated the facts he had gathered to the bishop; but the bishop kept his own counsel and, without consulting the inquisitor, summarily judged the process. After recantation he relieved Laillier of the sentence of excommunication, reestablished him in all his rights, gave him the right to be promoted to other degrees, and also abolished all note of infamy. Laillier applied several times for his degree, but the Faculty persistently refused him. The bishop, after having given him the right to the doctorate, now tried to compel the Faculty to grant it. November 6 the Faculty made an appeal to the general public and to Pope Innocent VIII. He immediately issued two bulls. The first was to Jean Cossart, the inquisitor, in which he forbade Laillier the right of preaching, and submitted the affair for further action to the inquisitor, to the Bishop of Sens, and the Bishop of Meaux. The second bull was addressed to the Faculty, praising their zeal, approving

their course of action, and forbidding them to confer the degree. This bull also annulled the judgment of the Bishop of Paris. These bulls were issued respectively December 6 and 9, 1486. The pope was obeyed as far as not granting the doctorate was concerned.

The *Register* gives no further light on the after life of Laillier. Weak and fickle as he proved to be, still his life was not in vain; for it stimulated thought, and that, too, in the very direction that was taken afterward by the Reformation, namely: 1. The denial of early historical celibacy; 2. The denial of the power of the priest and a hint at the priesthood of all believers; 3. The setting forth of the foolishness of the worship of saints; 4. The denial of papal authority; 5. The denial of the primacy of St. Peter in authority and jurisdiction; 6. The denial of the power to grant indulgences. Jean Laillier is the connecting link between Gerson and D'Ailly of the Council of Constance, the men who there attempted the internal reformation of the Church, and Briconnet and Le Fèvre, the immediate precursors of Calvin.

S. G. Ayres.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

On July 31 there died in Brooklyn John W. Carr, who for twenty-five years was a compositor in the Methodist Book Concern. His name is unknown to the readers of the *Review*; yet he made up its pages for nearly a fourth of a century, his service in this capacity extending back to 1872, in the editorship of Dr. Whedon. The son of a soldier in the British army who became regimental school-master and, it is said, a Wesleyan exhorter, he was born at Gibraltar, removed to the West Indies, and later to the United States. The *Review* acknowledges its indebtedness to this faithful servant, to whose skillful and conscientious labor much of its typographical excellence has been due.

An examination of our subscription list discovers that the *Review* has a more varied constituency than most persons would suppose. A great variety of tastes must be considered and served. It is inevitable that there will be many different opinions as to what subjects shall have chief prominence in our pages. Some would have the *Review* more exclusively philosophical, theological, and biblical, dealing with the eternal themes. Some call for more of the purely literary. Some desire scientific and social treatises. Some ask larger space for discussion of unsettled questions touching Church polity, method, and action. One valued and progressive correspondent sends us his opinion as follows: "Space should be given to topics of perennial importance, as well as to those of temporary interest; and it seems to me the former should have the larger degree of attention. The *Review* is not intended to compete with the weeklies or even the monthlies in touching the popular pulse or catering to the taste of the hour." Editorial inclinations also differ. Considerable contrast appears in the tables of contents under Dr. Whedon and Dr. Mendenhall. It is the belief of the present editor that the various tastes are entitled to a fair division of space among the different classes of topics. Many subjects born in the past or relating thereto are of unexhausted interest. History is not entirely dead and buried from human thought. "The pro-

phetic writings " still repay study, and are matter of keen contemporary debate. The New Testament is already an old book, but will be for thinkers and writers a fresh and living theme a thousand years hence.

DR. JAMES STRONG.

Against the name of one of the most eminent workmen of the Church we must now place the inevitable asterisk. Dr. Strong was a lifelong toiler. His recent attacks of illness he did not interpret as warnings to cease from labor. Although beyond the seventy-first milestone of the journey, he had laid broad plans that needed a full quarter of a century for their completion. Some of his masterpieces he had reserved for the last. Like Titian, whom a visitor found with pencil in hand at eighty-eight, he knew no idle old age. Sunset found him at his work, and when the curfew rang he had earned his honored rest.

I. He attained high prominence in the field of biblical scholarship. Particularly will he live in the history of American Methodism as a skilled interpreter of the Old Testament Scriptures. He was not self-made. Fortunately the Wesleyan University, mother of bishops and scholars, had for ten years opened its doors to the choice youth of the Church when he decided upon a collegiate course. Entering this now venerable institution as a junior, he carried off its highest honors in 1844. The great Olin was then president at beautiful Middletown, and in the exercise of his majestic influence upon the plastic youth of the time he left an indelible impression, as later correspondence shows, on the future theologian. With this impulse toward the best in scholarship, the graduate went forth to such immediate success that his university but twelve short years after his graduation conferred upon him—layman though he was and not yet thirty-four—the honorary degree of S.T.D.

It is an interesting fact that Dr. Strong did not begin the study of Hebrew, in which he afterward reached such conspicuousness among American scholars, until he had left the halls of Wesleyan. Within the first few years after his graduation—for he published, in 1857, his *Epitome of the Hebrew Grammar*—he undertook the mastery of the Hebraic tongue, under the direction of a Jewish scholar who gave him private instruction. Perhaps neither teacher nor scholar dreamed of the results that would follow. There is at least in the circumstance an encouragement to those who think that the possibilities of learning necessarily turn on the

privilege of an academic course. The incident points the lesson that a man who owns a text-book and a lexicon may make his university anywhere!

The selection of Dr. Strong as one of the translators of the works on Daniel and Esther, in Lange's great series of biblical commentaries, was a deserved tribute to his scholarship. But perhaps the work which brought him into the closest relationship with the American Church at large, and gave him as well conspicuousness before the Church abroad, was his service as one of the American revisers of the Old Testament. From 1871 to 1881 those fifteen gifted scholars compared the jot and the tittle of the Hebrew text. They included men of such rare attainments as Drs. Thomas J. Conant and Talbot W. Chambers, Professors Tayler Lewis, George E. Day, and William H. Green—in the last of whom he found a kindred spirit and an enduring friend. Dr. Strong was the sole representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the distinguished body. To the acquisitions of this picked company of Hebraists he brought many a choice treasure from his accumulated store. Reverently conservative, yet rightly progressive in his attitude toward the Holy Scriptures, the work of the revision was safe in such hands as his. From his own pen we have a valuable account of some of the methods followed and results reached by the revisers, in an article published in the *Review* of January, 1886. To Dr. Strong's service as a reviser and to his long life of laborious research the Church has already paid its tributes. Says an eminent authority, in recognition of his scholarship, "In his death biblical and theological learning has lost one of its most illustrious representatives."

II. He sat as a king in the professor's chair. Like Arnold, of Rugby, and Mark Hopkins, at Williamstown, he seemed ordained to teach. As an instructor in the Troy Conference Academy, and later as professor of biblical literature in the Troy University, and its acting president, he was only preparing himself for that greater service in ministerial education which has made his name revered in American Methodism. The founders of the Drew Theological Seminary chose better than they knew in electing him to the chair of exegetical theology. Entering upon his work in 1868, he was for a quarter of a century most closely identified with the growing fortunes of the new institution, and contributed by his masterful scholarship to its increasing fame. For the last year, though retired from the active professorship, he was still a lecturer at the Seminary; so that not a single student has ever

graduated from the institution without his instruction and his signature upon the diploma. He saw a generation of Christian ministers pass through his class room. To put one's impress upon such teachers of the people, even in the most casual way, is to give great hostages to the fortunes of the Church. But to instruct them in so vital a branch as exegetical theology, to lead their early judgments and shape their nascent thinking upon the meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures, is to bear upon the shoulders one of the most tremendous burdens that may fall to the lot of mortal.

A glimpse at the workman and his work is kindly given us by Dr. H. A. Buttz, the honored president of Drew Seminary, after years of personal association with him. He writes: "In the death of Dr. Strong the professor's chair has lost one who united those qualities calculated to insure the highest success. Even in business life the passion for learning and authorship was not suppressed, and when, in 1868, he came to Drew Theological Seminary, as professor of exegetical theology, he brought with him those rare qualities of head and heart which distinguished him during his quarter of a century of service. At his death he was professor emeritus, but his interest and enthusiasm were undiminished. His great success as a professor was largely due to his natural adaptation for giving instruction, his vast learning and accurate scholarship, and his enthusiasm in his work. He was alive in his class, and all felt the inspiration of his presence. He knew so much more than the lesson he was teaching that his students felt the hand of a master upon them. Another element of his success was his fidelity, which never subordinated his class work to his authorship. His students will hold him in affectionate remembrance as a personal friend, and as 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.'"

His class-room methods and his devotion to the Scriptures will now be matters of tender reminiscence to his students scattered throughout America, and also in Italy, China, Japan, and India. One of them, Dr. E. S. Tipple, of New York, who has of late been his pastor at Grace Church, pays him the following reverent tribute: "Dr. Strong impressed his students immediately as a man of prodigious learning. Without attempt at pretense on his part they felt that he knew everything. His resources were boundless. His knowledge of facts was marvelous. He seemed also to us all as a man of vision, so constantly was he thinking upon

eternal things. He had the appearance and manner of a prophet, and we always thought of him as one with Elijah and Daniel, but with a clearer knowledge of the Christ. His loyalty to the truth of the Scriptures was every day apparent. This jealousy for God's word was a conspicuous characteristic of his teaching. His intense manner, his flashing eye, the alertness of every muscle of his body, these all revealed the 'defender of the faith.' To him the Bible was a holy temple of truth, and he stood at the portal with drawn sword to smite with death any who presumed to attempt to cross its threshold with sandaled feet. A thousand men the world over love the book with more reverent affection because they were taught by him, and love him with intensest love, in part because he so loved the Bible."

His funeral was at Round Lake, where a school of the prophets had met to hear his summer lectures on the Revelation; it might have been held in almost any place, for his friends and students are everywhere.

III. He was one of the book-writers of the Church. What he learned in the cloister from Greek manuscript or Hebrew text he gladly published to the world. Like the great Clarke, he made commentaries; like Wesley, he edited practical helps; like Watson, he wrote on questions of systematic theology. In his versatility—and he was also an expert manual workman—no subject within the circle of doctrinal or textual discussion was unattractive to his pen. As early as 1852 his *Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels* was issued—a household book to the generation of the Methodist ministry now in their full manhood prime. The "Bibliography" of the *Alumni Record* of Wesleyan University, published in 1883, devotes about three octavo pages to the enumeration of his writings, and since then he has added greatly to the list. Through twelve crowded volumes of the *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*—seven volumes being issued by him in sole editorship after the death of Dr. McClintock—we wander in amazement at his prodigious industry. The present year has seen the long-expected publication of his colossal *Concordance*, elsewhere noticed in these pages, which is the most majestic volume of its kind in the history of the Church of Christ. For a short year living as professor emeritus in New York, the city of his birth, the passion for making books has rendered his face a familiar sight among the compositors of our publishing house. A year ago he issued the first of an exegetical series on the Old Testament Scriptures, to be known as "The Students' Com-

mentary," the particular volume published being *A Complete Hermeneutical Manual on the Book of Ecclesiastes.* With its beautiful Hebrew text, printed from a font of type purchased especially for the work, with its metrical rendering, metaphrase, exposition, and other ingenious features too many to tell, it is a marvel of the commentator's skill. When Dr. Strong died there was passing through the press a similar commentary on the Psalms, which will be published in its partly finished form. But what scholar will write the rest of the series? As poetry is forever poorer by the unwritten verses of Keats, and romance by the unfinished words of the great novelist who went away in the midst of his *Mystery of Edwin Drood,* so Christian literature has lost immeasurably in the non-completion of these projected manuals of hermeneutics.

Dr. Strong wrote his first words for the *Methodist Review* in 1850, before many of our present readers had been rocked in their cradles. His theme was, "Apparent Discrepancies in the Evangelists' Account of Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene after his Resurrection." His final article was in March, 1893, when he discussed "The Songs of the Church" like a master in hymnology. Between 1850 and 1893 he enriched the *Review* with some twenty-two articles and ten shorter notes. His subjects include "The Baptismal Formula," Matt. xxviii, 19, 20, "The Genealogies of Christ," "Table of Biblical Chronology," "Affinity of the Hebrew and Greek Languages," "Egyptian Chronology," "Documentary Origin of Genesis," and more too varied to note. Until he died his pen was never still. Whipple said of Gray, who is known chiefly by his "Elegy," that no man ever went down to immortality with a smaller volume under his arm. It is not so with Professor Strong. Bearing his manuals on the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee text, a Harmony of the Greek New Testament, his essays on *Irenics,* an elaborate treatise on the Jewish tabernacle in the desert, pamphlets on Esther, Daniel, Solomon's Song, and Habakkuk, a study of Jewish life in the first century—and time would fail to complete the list—he will walk down the years as the most prolific author in the history of American Methodism for a round century.

He was a frequent visitor in the office of the *Review.* His cheery greeting was like the singing of birds over the hills. We shall be lonely for his sunny face, his eminent counsel, his noble personality. Through the door that swings into the eternal world he has passed from human sight. His views upon the

intermediate state were definite and well known. But a little before his departure we listened, in an office conversation, while in seer-like words he explained that belief as to the immediate experience of the departed which is set forth in his *Doctrine of a Future Life.* The condition of the dead, in his estimate, is analogous to the dream state of mortals, so far as a similitude may be used. Each living man is deciding the quality of his future dreams. When death has come "the introversion is complete, the circle is hermetically sealed, and existence is pivoted upon self." At the end of the conversation he said with pathos that he would soon know the mystery. He knows it now.

LABOR DISTURBANCES.

Our readers are presumed to be familiar with the coal strike and railway strike of May, June, and July. Some features of these events demand the attention of all thoughtful persons. The two strikes were unlike in this, that the coal miner revolted on questions of wages, while the railway unionist struck out of sympathy with striking carbuilders. The first had a grievance of his own; the second loudly declared that he had no grievance whatever. Both were alike in that they swiftly passed to the stage of violence, which was repressed by military force. In the earlier strike the mobs arrested interstate commerce, at least in Ohio and West Virginia ; but the federal troops did not appear on the scene. In the second, at Chicago, the national troops were the first in the field, though Illinois has a large, efficient, and patriotic militia. There is no doubt at this time that vigorous efforts by governors, mayors, and sheriffs might have prevented nearly all the bloodshed and incendiarisms of both conflicts. There were three days during which the mayor of Chicago could have suppressed the mob with the clubs of his policemen. Everywhere the rioting was allowed to proceed to great lengths by official politicians keenly alive to the coming elections. A heavy tax in money and in blood, in shame and humiliation, was inflicted by the idleness of the hands chosen to maintain peace and security.

The largest in scenic value of these tumults was the Chicago demonstration of the power of a mob. There the railroads are peculiarly exposed to pillage. Their tracks wind in and out through the quarters inhabited by the *dejecta* of anarchy, whose church is a saloon, whose speech is as variegated as the coat of Joseph. The strikers inflicted, it is supposed, but a small part of the

damage. A possible mob of perhaps forty thousand men, women, and children, whose names Americans cannot pronounce, is one of the features of the marvelous metropolis of our vast midland. An ambitious organizer of labor, with a dream of uniting all workmen and thus controlling all commerce and production, having created a new "railway union" and being able to "call out" perhaps fifteen thousand men, began an industrial revolution with the mighty mob at his back. He had no sooner called out his men than the mob began its work of destruction; but it slowly retreated to its lairs before six thousand soldiers and nearly as many armed marshals and policemen. The federal troops were first in the field, because the mayor of Chicago neglected for days to lay a heavy hand on the disorderly elements to whom he owes his elevation to office. The same classes had made Mr. Altgeld governor of Illinois; and he signalized the outbreak of anarchy by sending to President Cleveland two long protests against the presence of national soldiers in Chicago. These protests, happily, found no support except from strikers, labor demagogues, socialists, and other enemies of our constitutional system of liberty regulated by law.

The right to abandon the service of a corporation or an individual is, we believe, nowhere denied. It is a conceded civil right—conceded because the enforcement of a contract to labor would trench upon liberty. Only a money penalty could be exacted with safety; and for obvious reasons workmen are not pursued with such a penalty. The right to cease from labor for foolish reasons is not denied. In the adjustment of differences between labor and capital the law, the courts, and public opinion agree to give labor a right which they deny to capital—the right to inflict damage by breaking a contract for no good reason. Therefore the reasons which the coal and railroad strikers gave for leaving the service of their employers are not matters of grave concern except as they were used to justify violence. The distinction has been ignored in the daily press, but it is too important to be forgotten here. Another right claimed by the strikers was the right to prevent the transportation of cars loaded with coal and Pullman sleeping cars. The strikers had no right to make such demands, and the railways had no right to grant them—neither legal nor moral right. The strikers, indeed, made no effort to enforce a legal right in the courts; a moral right they claimed and tried to enforce by the machinery of public opinion. To compel the public to decree in its favor the

striking force attempted to alarm, embarrass, and even starve the public. This was attempted by many specific acts of violence, every one of which was an act of lawbreaking, and by threats such as "Not a wheel shall turn, not a unionist shall work, unless we get what we ask." In practice "not a unionist shall work" means also that no one should be permitted to work in his place. The avowal of a purpose to compel the public by starvation, if necessary, to surrender to violence has been made on other occasions, but it has never been proclaimed so boldly as by Mr. Debs in Chicago; and it found a considerable public ready to be starved, if need were, for the sake of a "revolution." This word was freely used. From John Most, professional anarchist, up through all the variegated ranks of socialists to a United States senator from Kansas, the thing, if not the word "revolution," was fondled with hopeful enthusiasm. With singular unanimity all these prophets of a new order, including some featherheaded labor leaders and nearly every man with a panacea for poverty, strenuously condemned the interference of federal troops. "Force," they cried, "never settled anything." And all the while they were hoping that the force of the mob would produce a revolution. Such splendid hypocrisy is commended to the historian of these times. He will hardly find a better proof of the insanity of many persons who fancy they are reformers. It is greatly to be desired that the well-meaning persons who have espoused their "reforms" may take note of the attitude of their leaders in the presence of pillaging and murdering mobs. The "reform" leaders tell us that these tumults should open our eyes. They do open our eyes to the necessity of defending life and liberty by military force.

The contention that our constitutional system is defective is not justified by a candid view of the facts. We have had no proof that the courts, when appealed to, have failed to maintain rights of contract. The Chicago incident has shown the effectiveness of the executive power in repressing violence. The protection afforded by the nation is even more effective than it had been supposed to be. Its power to take the place of a weak mayor or governor was to most of our people a grateful surprise. The complaint that our government does not daily and minutely regulate the relations of employer and employed is altogether unreasonable. Our liberty is the liberty of contract, and human experience has not devised any other system of liberty. Between the system of contract and that of slavery which we abolished

a generation ago there is no other possibility. The socialistic scheme proper is in principle the slavery system over again. It is alluring in promise to many because they hope to become masters, to many more because they know nothing about the thing they desire. A slave had the things which are craved by many in our generation; his physical wants were provided for without thought on his part. He could not starve or be houseless. But the present-day complainant wants both that security and liberty. No human writ can find a means of securing the advantages of both systems.

The anxiety of our people to make an end of the waste and peril of strikes may lead to dangerous experiments. It is pretty clear that the prompt enforcement of law would have ended all the waste and peril at the very beginning. Those who desire safety and prosperity need only to ask that life and property be protected by the strict enforcement of existing laws. Those who ask for new forms of protection will confess that they distrust, not the laws, but the men whom we elect to enforce them; not the courts, but the executive agents of the people. They saw a president fail in 1860–1861. They have seen mayors fail every year, notably in 1877 and 1894. And this year they have seen more than one governor fail. If by some device complaining workmen could be always righted or silenced there would be no strikes for politicians in office to play with to the damage of the people. There is a growing belief that "compulsory arbitration" can be so adjusted as to yield this desirable result. Now, all the pleasant features of an untried scheme are easily seen; the trial is apt to disclose another set of features. We ought, in this case, to get rid of the delusion that "compulsory arbitration" is any kind of arbitration. The thing meant is regulation of labor contracts by the State. This regulation must be in restraint of liberty, and yet it may be wise; though it is not wise to deceive ourselves respecting the nature of the proceeding. The device in effect creates a new kind of courts to settle these disputes. The labor side is left very much in shadow. Only one party, the employer, can be legally bound to obey the edicts of these new courts. They will exist, therefore, to limit the employer's rights of contract. It may be doubted that the Constitution of the United States could be so interpreted as to permit this invasion of the liberty of the employer; and, after all, the main question would recur, Can we enforce the laws? It is not to be expected that the human material of mobs will be removed

from the city or the mine by putting employers under regulation. And is it to be expected that demagogues will cease to be chosen to fill executive offices? Would not workmen, revolting from a decision of one of these new courts, become the nucleus of a mob to be dispersed by force? The spirit of lawlessness despises all authority, and it has never been tamed and controlled by anything short of armed force.

The recognition of the duty of the national authority to protect mail trains and all trains crossing State lines—and sidings in stockyards—may suggest the fitness of some national regulation of employment on these railways. They are quasi public enterprises. But such regulation ought not to be hastily undertaken or handed over to the political class in American society. The first problem is to find some fit instrument for so delicate and difficult a task.

Perhaps the favorite theory of the time is the regulative value of public opinion. "If public opinion condemns a revolt it must fail." The precise defect of this maxim is that public opinion is even slower than a Governor Altgeld. All the mischief is done by the temporizing of executives and the sympathy of the public. The wisest reform may be found, after all, in educating public opinion up to the point of forbidding a striker to (1) hinder or injure the "scab," (2) damage or delay the business he has abandoned, (3) profess and maintain that he is still in a service out of which he has voluntarily taken himself. All the evils of strikes such as this year has witnessed were developed into mob violence through the weakness of public opinion on these three vital points. A canvass of the people would have found them hesitating and divided, the more part hoping that a little of outrage would give workmen "their rights," these rights being whatever may be claimed for strikers by their wildest and most reckless leaders. It is only when conflagrations and assassinations begin that a large part of the public awakens to the knowledge that a labor demagogue may ask for wrongs and call them rights —as a person called Debs undoubtedly did in Chicago. It has not escaped the notice of the philosopher that the college student and the workman have been clothed by public opinion with some "rights" which are unhesitatingly denied to all other citizens of the United States.

The time-consecrated method of adjusting disputes which assume to claim public adjustment is to send them to a jury of twelve men of the vicinage. We are asked in every time of strike

to do by means of public opinion the work of a jury. Our people are slow to learn that this cannot succeed. The public does not and cannot know, intimately enough for a just judgment, the facts in a dispute between Mr. Pullman and his workmen. Nor have the people any right to demand that Mr. Pullman shall submit his case to any kind of inquiry except that of the courts of the land. The plea that by doing so he could save us from mob violence is the most insulting and outrageous slap in the face this great American people have suffered in thirty years. Forsooth, we owe our security of life and goods to the grace of an employer of labor. If he chooses to stand firm upon his legal rights strikers have the right to obstruct, pillage, burn, and kill. Mr. Pullman is not of so much importance. Our rights to send our letters and our goods over highways, to travel in security, to have our lives and effects protected by the nation cannot be taken away by the refusal of any John Smith to arbitrate something with somebody else. It is hard to endure the shame heaped upon us by such absurdities. It is not less humiliating to know that there were delegates to the recent Christian Endeavor Convention who were so thoughtless or so unpatriotic as to consent to travel to Cleveland under the protection of Striker Debs. Happily for us, some delegates refused to travel in the United States on a brigand's pass, as if they were living under the conditions prevailing a century ago in southern Italy.

There is more than enough sympathy for workmen ; there is far too little for a large body of men, women, and children whose living comes from small investments, hardly earned and religiously saved. These investments were in peril before the recent wanton strikes. A large number of stock companies are in the hands of receivers, and some do not even pay interest on their loans. There is quite as much distress, probably, among refined people, whose lives are one long service of humanity, as there is among workmen. The times are hard for multitudes in both sections of our population. The violence which has disgraced the nation has increased, indefinitely increased, this distress. Misdirected sympathy has some share in the causing of these tumults; and since they have failed to help the workmen, and, on the contrary, have increased the number of workmen to be pitied and helped, it would seem to be wise to exercise more discrimination in selecting the objects of our compassion and to exclude from it all strikers who confess that they have no grievances. Perhaps we may reasonably add to this class those workmen who strike first and

ask for arbitration afterward. It is conceivable that an employer may be in the right; the violence of the striker raises at least a suspicion that *he* is in the wrong.

PFLEIDERER AT EDINBURGH.

It is indicative of the interest laymen take in theology that at different times in Great Britain three men, two of them merchants and one a lawyer, have left money with similar intent—to provide essays or lectures for the elucidation and substantiation of the doctrines of natural theology or the free discussion of disputed theological questions. In 1784 John Burnett, an Aberdeen merchant, established by his will a prize fund, which has recently been legally transferred to the support of a lectureship for illustrating natural theology from studies scientific, historic, or archæological. His purpose is indicated in the clear directions given in his will, that prizes be offered for the best treatises on "the evidence that there is a Being, all-powerful, wise, and good, by whom everything exists; and particularly to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Diety; and this independent of written revelation and of the revelation of the Lord Jesus; and from the whole to point out the inferences most necessary and useful to mankind."

In 1849 Robert Hibbert, a West India merchant, bequeathed money to provide for the impartial discussion of unsettled problems of theology, without regard to the teachings or interests of any particular Church or form of faith. The intention of the founder has been so liberally, if not loosely, construed that such men as Renan, the Frenchman, Kuenen, the Dutchman, and Pfleiderer, the German, have been among the chosen lecturers.

In 1887 Lord Gifford, a lawyer raised to the bench, left a large sum to Scottish universities—to the University of Edinburgh, £25,000; to Glasgow and Aberdeen, each £20,000; and to St. Andrew's, £15,000—for the endowment of lectures in natural theology, free from dogmatic tests and restrictions. Among the lecturers have been Max Müller, the philologist; E. B. Tylor, the anthropologist, author of *Primitive Culture* and other works upon the early history of mankind; Andrew Lang, the brilliant and versatile *littérateur*, an authority in mythology and folklore; James Hutchinson Stirling, the distinguished Scotch philosopher, of much erudition and genius, whose lectures were published under the title *Philosophy and Theology;* last year Professor

Edward Caird, the new Master of Balliol; and this year Dr. Otto Pfleiderer, the well-known professor of theology in the University of Berlin, who delivered at the University of Edinburgh, in February last, a double course of twenty lectures, now published in two volumes, entitled *Philosophy and Development of Religion.*

Until now the Gifford lectures have run their course at the four universities under considerable criticism, but without noteworthy sensation or commotion. The visit of the Berlin professor, however, occasioned no small disturbance, the reason being that Pfleiderer used the Gifford platform to attack the Bible, discredit the historicity of the gospels, and assail the foundations of Christianity. It is plain that some of the Scottish theologians felt that the lectures had created something of a crisis. There was danger that the faith of the young and the unlearned be unsettled. The Christian scholars of Scotland, who are set for the defense of the Gospel, could not, by their silence, leave anyone to suppose that no answer could be made to the sweeping and destructive theories of the German theologian. The emergency was immediately met. Pfleiderer's lectures having ended on February 27, the course which was extemporized to contradict and confute him opened on March 5. The antidote was sent as quickly as possible after the venom which the fangs of the infidel serpent had injected into the veins of intellectual Scotland.

The first man ready to reply to the challenging rationalist was Dr. Robert Rainy, principal and professor of church history in New College, Edinburgh, author of *The Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*, a man of great natural ability who seldom fully puts it forth, but just the man to meet with immense information and strong intellect a real emergency by which he was thoroughly aroused. He presented the precise nature, as well as the incalculable importance, of the issues at stake, and the deadly character of this assault against the evangelical faith if it could succeed. After him, on the 8th of March, came Dr. James Orr, professor of church history in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh, author of *The Christian View of God and the World as Centering in the Incarnation*, who plainly showed Pfleiderer's views to be inharmonious and self-contradictory, that his superstructure cannot be built on his foundations, and that his conclusions are no way warranted by the assumptions, presuppositions, and perversions of fact which he uses as premises. This impromptu course, delivered by competent scholars, in popular style, and for immediate effect, was closed on March 13 by

Dr. Marcus Dods, professor of exegetical theology in New College, author of *The Book of Genesis* and *The Post-Exilian Prophets—Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi,* who found it exactly in the line of his specialty to sustain the trustworthiness of the gospels against destructive German criticism, which he did with the manner of an expert familiar with the ground, master of his weapons and an easy match for his antagonist.

In all such reasonings as legitimately belong to the Burnett, Hibbert, and Gifford lectures we unfeignedly and unreservedly rejoice, for natural theology furnishes the basement and buttress of a fuller revelation. A supernatural Christianity is the proper crown, the natural and necessary superstructure, which alone completes into symmetrical development the intimations of natural religion, rearing on the primitive foundations laid in nature and human nature the only structure in which the soul of man can find in a reasonable way sufficient and satisfying shelter. The men who are beveling, tonguing, and grooving the granite blocks of natural theology are, wittingly or unwittingly, the servants of Jesus Christ, mortising together the solid and indestructible base on which rests that pyramid of supernaturally revealed truth of which the doctrine of a crucified, risen, ascended, and ever-living Lord, Saviour of men and King of kings, is the heaven-piercing apex.

But the delivery at Edinburgh of such utterances as Pfleiderer's is a gross impropriety, an atrocions offense against sacred interests, implying malfeasance and misdemeanor on the part of somebody. For one thing, what could be more preposterous, idiotic, suicidal than for a Christian university to accept or retain a lectureship the terms of which may be and were so construed as to make it a man-of-war for bombarding the citadel of the Christian faith? It is akin to what would be the folly of a nation which should import anarchists at a premium to plot assassinations, the overthrow of government, and the disorganization of society. In spite of the immeasurable difference between the two men in knowledge, intelligence, and general decency, the inviting of Pfleiderer to Edinburgh is like selecting a certain notorious and blatant infidel lecturer as orator of the day for a Young Men's Christian Association convention; for the words which the thrifty professional blasphemer wrote last July to a citizen of Saratoga express Pfleiderer's central doctrine: "The supernatural has lost its power. We must come back to the natural." For another thing, probability warrants the presumption that

such a use of the Gifford lectureship as the Berlin theologian has made is in violation of the intention of the founder, an unlawful misuse and immoral perversion of the fund; for there is little room to doubt that Lord Gifford's purpose was friendly to Christianity. To allow such abuse is a crime similar to permitting the faculty of a theological school to teach doctrines fundamentally opposed to and destructive of the faith which those who established, endowed, and chartered the institution intended to promote. For still another thing, it is glaringly unfair to use the lecture platform of an essentially Christian university for the overthrow of Christian doctrine when, by the specific terms of the bequest that sustains the lectureship, limiting its discussions to the realm of natural theology, no Gifford lecturer can use that platform for defensive statement on the side of Christianity.

It cannot be pleaded in extenuation of the fault of those who gave him his opportunity that Pfleiderer himself or his views were unknown at Edinburgh. He visited England and Scotland thirty years ago. His place among the schools of religious thought in Germany has long been known by biblical scholars everywhere. His opinions were all abroad in his published works. He had delivered the Hibbert lectures in 1885 on *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity.* No theologian in Germany was more widely known. The constituted guardians of Lord Gifford's trust, the *senatus* which selects the lecturers, are under moral obligation, if not explicit legal bonds, to prevent a similar misuse of the fund hereafter. The religious public of Scotland have a right to demand that the repetition of such a subtle, virulent, and scandalous attack under the *ægis* of the university be made impossible.

Both Pfleiderer's lectures and the replies of the Edinburgh professors being now in the hands of the public in published form, anyone may learn for himself the nature of the latest deliverance of systematic philosophic attack upon Christianity, as well as the pertinency and force of the brief but comprehensive defense made offhand by the three Scotch theologians. It is no wonder that men of learning, as familiar with Christian facts, records, and doctrines as the Berlin professor, rose indignantly to protest against his claim that the Incarnation must be disbelieved for the simple reason that it is inconsistent with his understanding of history or because it would upset his entire scheme of interpretation; against his assertion that all marvelous incidents related of Jesus in the gospel histories are pure inventions, added at a

late day; against his statement that Paul believed only in the spiritual, and not in the bodily, resurrection of Jesus; against his easily disproved declaration that Baur's theory of the late origin (A. D. 170) of the fourth Gospel has been confirmed by all subsequent investigations; against his groundless supposition that a speculative system denying all supernatural revelation can yet appropriate the ethics, retain the hopes, and exert the power historically associated with the Christian revelation—in fact, against the entire philosophy which Pfleiderer eloquently expounds.

Only a rapid glance is needed to discover that the Berlin professor's scheme contains nothing essentially new. The rejection of the supernatural is old. From the days of Christ until now there have always been many deniers of the miraculous in connection with his life and Gospel. Since August Comte's *Philosophie Positive* appeared there has been in France, Germany, and England a distinct school of thinkers, bent on eliminating all supernatural elements from religious beliefs. Nor is there anything novel and original in Pfleiderer's particular form of attack. He learned his lessons from men who promulgated these theories forty, fifty, or sixty years ago. He has only extended, coordinated, and illustrated the opinions and arguments which were put forth in a former generation from the University of Tübingen. Indeed, his ideas are derived still further back, from Lessing's *Education of the Human Race,* published in 1780. He is an echo of Baur, Strauss, and earlier thinkers; and the law that the echo shall be fainter than the original voice is not broken in this case.

These antisupernatural theories were adequately answered as soon as they appeared. Neither Protestantism nor Romanism has been destitute of scholars able to produce abundant materials for complete refutation. Times without number these rationalist reasonings have been utterly demolished wherever they were uttered. The doctrines which Edinburgh heard from the lips of the man from Berlin are already discredited in the land of their birth; they do not dominate German thought, being rejected by more learned scholarship than favors them even in rationalizing Germany. The Ritschlian school sends Baur and Pfleiderer to the rear. The system of theology which was outlined from Tübingen receives from Pfleiderer its most elaborate presentation at a time when it was not worth the labor spent upon the task, since it has had its day and is no longer in demand, even in the intellectual markets of the Continent. For a foreigner to bring to Scotland his basketful of cold victuals left over from the ration-

alistic revel of half a century ago and spread a table in Edinburgh with these superfluous viands hardly justified his traveling expenses. His argument had been sifted and formally condemned in Scotland years before he arrived. Dr. Whedon would say that the Gifford lectures of 1894 were like an infant reprobate—damned before it was born. One Scottish volume alone, *The Miraculous Element*, by that sinewy master in theology, Dr. A. B. Bruce, of Glasgow, a thinker who has squarely faced and fairly conquered all forms of infidelity, is a sufficient antidote to Pfleiderer's poison, the chapter considering what would be left were the miraculous eliminated being specially to be commended.

This "man of light and leading" from the German capital, who was induced by a high price to come down the Rhine and cross the Channel to enlighten Scotland, smites the very foundations of evangelical and biblical Christianity and claims to have destroyed them. He holds that there has been no supernaturally inspired revelation. All man's religious ideas have been obtained by the efforts of his own reason. The Bible is simply an ancient religious classic, no different in kind from many other books. The gospel records are largely unreliable. As for the gospel of John, it is in no sense an historical writing, but a didactic treatise, which derived its theological ideas chiefly from Philo and invested them in the form of a life of Jesus as a sort of religious fiction. Christ was merely an unusual religious genius, a purely human evolution, differing only in degree, if indeed in that, from other religious leaders. Although he had some grand thoughts about God and life, he was, it seems, rather a goody-goody sort of saint, simple-minded and well-meaning, but considerably deluded. Indeed, he was, like the rest of us, not without his faults; he was not spotless, sinless, guiltless. Some things which he is recorded to have claimed for himself cannot possibly have been true. He is not indisputably fit to be file-leader and head of the column in humanity's hopeful march toward a better future. There was no ground for Charles Lamb's saying, "If Shakespeare came into the room just now we would all rise up; but if He came in we would all kneel down." Redemption is an empty dream, atonement an exploded notion which Paul erroneously held; there is no forgiveness of sins. Jesus did not rise from the tomb, Mary did not meet her Lord in the garden, he did not walk and talk with two disciples on the Emmaus road, he did not show his wound-prints to Thomas, nor eat with his disciples on the shore; for the Syrian stars look down to-night on his unknown and hopeless grave.

Life and immortality have not been brought to light by him. Easter services are meaningless. The conversion of Saul of Tarsus was an attack of epilepsy. Paul did not see the Lord on his way to Damascus; he had a fit and imagined it all. The vision and experience which Paul describes with solemn asseveration and utmost verisimilitude is rejected by Pfleiderer as positively as by Renan and Weizsäcker. There are no answered prayers; there is no regenerating and sanctifying Holy Spirit.

We do not misrepresent, but give fair samples of the sort of stuff to which, distinctly stated or inevitably implied, the university of Edinburgh listened and which now stands in English print. If we believe Pfleiderer and his like both Old Testament and New are stripped of their glory and their authority. Gone are the pillars of cloud and fire, the manna white round Israel's black tents, the manifest presence of the Lord with his people—all numbered with the incredible and impossible. A horrible silence extinguishes ~~the~~ temple worship—nothing for trumpets to blow, voices to sing about, or harps to thrill to any more. The Lord hath not spoken, neither doth he hear. The objects of ancient faith are departed; dwindling in distance, they have passed away shuddering into the dark. There was no Star of Bethlehem. No wise men nineteen hundred years ago came seeking a newborn King who should save his people from their sins; the wise men live now, with headquarters in Germany, and make westward pilgrimages to publish the glad tidings that men have no King and Saviour. The nimbus is gone from the brow of Jesus Christ; no halo shines round the head that once was crowned with thorns. The imaginary personage whom Stephen was supposed to have seen sitting at the right hand of God has suffered dethronement at the hands of philosophers. A German professor waves his philosophic wand, and down falls the eternal Son of God into the dust. So it looks from the chair of theology at Berlin.

Otto Pfleiderer makes bold and complete denial of the divinity and perfectness of Jesus Christ. It matters not that Peter declares that his Master is not as other men; that Pilate washes his hands of responsibility for the condemnation of one in whom he can find no fault; that Judas hangs himself in remorse for having betrayed the innocent; that James, who knew him all his life, testifies of him as the Lawgiver and Judge of men; and that Jesus asserts his own immaculate faultlessness, challenges the friends who knew him best and the enemies who hated him worst to prove any sin in him, and claims all power in heaven and on earth. All this

goes for nothing. Such things cannot be, because Pfleiderer's philosophy does not admit their possibility. Peter and Pilate and Judas and James and Jesus were in error. The Gifford lecturer is the man who knows, though he was not there; just as England's apostle of culture gives us in *Literature and Dogma* his infallible interpretation of the Bible in a way destructive of all orthodox doctrine, and just as a Boston Unitarian prodigy of omniscience informs us that the evangelists who were on the spot misunderstood and misreported our Lord, and then graciously tells us, from his vantage point nineteen centuries away from the facts, precisely what Jesus did actually teach and mean, and we are invited to accept the gospel according to Matthew Arnold, Pfleiderer, Savage, and company in place of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. We will consider the invitation when these new evangelists have endured the raking fire of eighteen hundred years and then are as widely read, as reverently talked about, and as devoutly cherished by the most intelligent millions of mankind as the New Testament now is.

From our point of view, as we weigh the evidence and lift up our eyes to behold, the King still sits upon his throne, administering his kingdom, listening compassionately to the prayers of his saints, judging his enemies, sending abroad his saving word and his enlightening Spirit. In the face of Jesus Christ the light of the knowledge of the glory of God still shines.

> That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,
> Becomes my universe that feels and knows.

Looking up with human reverence to that face divine, we offer it ever-increasing homage, because his character is extraordinary in its qualities and singular in its powers. He was exceptional in his conscious relation to the supreme Maker and Ruler of the universe; his life is a piece of history quite special and unlike any other; he is in all respects an exception so rare and solitary as to have no parallel. All this he claimed for himself; this his followers from the first have always asserted with a sincerity often sealed with their blood; this in large measure many of his enemies have finally been compelled to concede; this no man has shown himself able to disprove. He still stands alone on his high plane—singular, superb, supreme. The effort to reduce him ever fails. The flawless and eternal Christ abides and reigns for evermore. Always, as once at Nazareth, he passes through his enemies unharmed.

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THE ARENA.

WHERE ARE THE CHEMISTS?—A WORD WITH WEISMANN.

It ought not to be overlooked, in any discussion touching the origin of life from inorganic material, that the men who dogmatize most are biologists and not chemists. Chemistry has been strangely overlooked; and when this has not occurred, its facts and principles have been crudely handled by men driven by the stern stress of system in the direction of necessary conclusions. And yet a moment's consideration will be sufficient to show that, if the question of the material or nonmaterial evolution of life is to be decided, the men to do it are the chemists. If life be the resultant of extreme molecular complexity, which is the claim made by extreme evolutionists, then the problem is chiefly one for the chemist, to whose domain all questions of purely molecular groupings and their effects legitimately belong. The world has heard much of Tyndall the physicist, of Huxley the biologist; but the great British chemist Roscoe is a comparatively silent man.

Since the year 1777, when Spallanzani and Needham initiated the first important discussion on the alleged spontaneous origin of living germs, the doctrine of abiogenesis has constantly grown in interest; and such is the confidence of the men whose profound biological acquirements command our respect, but whose chemistry surely is faulty, that it now seems to be taken as a positive truth that the wondrous power which has clothed the crags and rocks and wildernesses of nature with a "green and golden immortality" is, in its ultimate analysis, but a product of molecular complexity or a mystic motion of that universal force which moves suns and molds raindrops. "No one doubts," it is said, "that in organic living cells . . . there resides a special force . . . which we imagine to be as material as heat." And this from a text-book on fermentation, when perhaps not one in a dozen students would perceive the rank materialism of the teaching. It certainly should be remembered in presence of such statements that the microscope and the laboratory stand aloof from such dogmatism. The origin of life from the nonliving is an hypothesis suggested, not so much by the phenomena requiring explanation, as by the necessity of a speculation which aims at traveling from atoms to minds without a break in the journey.

Weismann, upon whom it is thought the mantle of Darwin has fallen, and whose view of the nature of heredity, if substantiated, will cause a general reconstruction of the doctrine of evolution, with a frankness truly scientific has stated very unequivocally his view of the matter: "I admit that spontaneous generation, in spite of all vain attempts to demonstrate it, remains for me a logical necessity. We cannot regard organic and inorganic matter as independent of each other and both eternal, for organic matter is continually passing without residuum into the inorganic; . . . but that which can be completely resolved into inorganic matter must have arisen from it, and must owe its ultimate foundation to it."

Not only is abiogenesis undemonstrated, but the balance of probabilities is against the doctrine. Yet for Weismann, that is, from his standpoint, this doctrine is a logical necessity. Is this any better reason than that of some enthusiast who knows that he is correct because he feels he is? But the Friedburg professor gives a reason for his belief upon which it may be observed: (1) That, as is usual in such cases, he uses the term "organic" as synonymous with "living," which is positively incorrect. The idea is to minimize the importance and essential distinctiveness of living matter by ignoring its peculiarities. No one would gather from the above quotation that organic matter was one thing and organic matter as the vehicle of life quite another and, indeed, very different thing. This is a scandalous method of argumentation, and yet it is adopted by most writers on this topic. The poverty of their case is a matter of easy inference. (2) That organic and inorganic are not independent of each other everyone knows. One is the house and the other the bricks. The chemist in his laboratory with his inorganic bricks builds a house, but we never hear of the bricks doing this for themselves. And if in some cases this is found to occur—which is not improbable, by the way—still Weismann and his fellow-thinkers are not assisted, because it is not the organic house so much as its inmates that requires explanation. (3) That organic matter passes without residuum into the inorganic is granted; but, unless organic matter and organic matter instinct with the potentialities of life are essentially one and the same thing, there is nothing gained by Weismann in referring to so elementary a proposition. The reason above given for abiogenesis does not take us a single step beyond a most elementary aspect of chemistry until a most gigantic and altogether unwarrantable assumption is made, namely, that the manifold powers of life pass, as does its organic basis, without residuum into the inorganic.

East Weymouth, Mass. WILLIAM HEAP BUTLER.

ANSWERS TO PRAYER.

Is it the intent of prayer to change God's purposes or to cause him to bestir himself to greater and more effective effort? Should Christian people seek to turn God from his purposes, to warm his love, or to increase his efforts toward those for whom they pray? Let us mention some of the attributes and perfections of God that should be considered in framing an answer to these questions, namely, his omniscience, immutability, infinite wisdom, love, mercy, justice, and truth. When we have properly considered these we shall shrink from the responsibility of asking God to turn from his plans and adopt ours.

Can there be wiser plans or better purposes than God's? Can it be that the prayers of parents, relatives, or Christian friends in behalf of their loved ones, neighbors, or the heathen world cause God to love with more intensity and act with more effectiveness than when he gave his Son for them? God has preordained that repentant sinners shall be saved, and that unrepentant sinners shall be damned. Is it wise to ask God to change that law? Can a better or wiser law be suggested? If so,

is God infinite in wisdom? In the case of Nineveh God acted in accord with this law; hence, there was no change of purpose in him. The sinning Ninevites changed to repentant sinners, and were saved according to the preordained purpose of God to save repenting sinners. In the case of the intercession of Moses for Israel after the idolatrous worship of the golden calf, are we to conclude that God had forgotten his promise to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that Moses recalled the promise, and then succeeded in changing the purpose of the immutable One? If so Moses should have been more merciful than to cause three thousand of the people to be slain. The evidence is unmistakable that Israel repented and changed to the class that God has proposed to save from destruction. I do not think there is now, or ever has been, or ever will be, a sufficient cause to ask God to change his purpose or to increase his love or activity. If Jehovah is the being we have been taught to believe he is his purposes are right, and he is doing all he can for the creatures whom he loves and will ever continue to love.

The intent of prayer is, not to work changes in God, but in men; to open channels of communication between God and men, so that he can carry out his purposes; to offer God instrumentalities by which to execute his plans. There is the opposite of comfort in the thought that prevailing prayer turns God from executing his wise and benevolent and just purposes. All of God's purposes are of that character. Prevailing prayer prevails over the one who offers it and brings him into complete harmony with God's purposes. A company of Christians, kneeling, seeking souls at the altar, and offering prevailing prayer, furnishes a channel of communication by which God may approach, in saving power, the hearts of the seekers. When great distance intervenes between him who offers prevailing prayer and the object of it, it is not necessary to conclude that a change is wrought in God. He that understands the laws of mind and knows the power that one mind can exert over another, even when long distance separates them, is aware that the answer is accomplished in the same way as when the two minds are in close proximity.

McGregor, Ia. L. L. LOCKARD.

LAWFUL, BUT NOT EXPEDIENT.

THE principle enunciated and inculcated in the above maxim is one that from time immemorial has been recognized as fair in mercantile, legal, and ecclesiastical practices. We purpose, therefore, to employ it in a brief discussion of the "equal lay representation" movement. It is conceded at the very outset that such representation in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church is perfectly legitimate and preeminently lawful; further, that, as a principle, it is scientifically just and philosophically right, and, as a mathematical proposition, is scrupulously exact and rigidly equitable. But at this point we change front, believing, as we do, that in the present *modus operandi* of making up a General Conference such representation is grossly inexpedient. The following facts, among others, will prove this.

The ministers composing the rank and file of the Annual Conferences are obviously opposed to increasing the ratio of ministerial representation to the General Conference. Instance the vote taken in the spring Conferences on the proposed constitutional amendment. The General Conference of 1892 was palpably unwieldy, if not totally unmanageable, as the closing precipitate and back-handed legislation would indicate. To add one hundred and fifty laymen, more or less, to such an already congested body, without deducting therefrom a numerical clerical equivalent, would make an assembly where, in the heat of debate, confusion would be worse confounded. The expense, also, of the last General Conference was an immense financial burden to the Church. It ought not to be increased. This would inevitably follow the numerical enlargement of the body. Again, so long as the separate vote, subject to the call of one third of either order, is in operation, the laymen would gain nothing in voting power if the proposed change were to be effected. Neither would they increase their influence in the General Conference. Both their power and influence depend, not upon their numbers, but upon their equal vote as an order, their knowledge of routine business and General Conference technic, combined with a readiness to obtain the floor and their dexterity in debate.

If the time shall ever come when it shall be deemed practicable by the Church to have the General Conference consist of lay and ministerial delegates in equal proportion some preliminary changes must first be made. Either the ministerial ratio of representation must be decreased from one for every forty-five to one for every ninety, or a sliding scale thereof—which, we think, will not come to pass in the near future—with a corresponding increase in the number of lay representatives to tally with the cleric; or else there must be arrangements made for two separate assemblies, one for the clergy, and one for the laity, analogous to the two houses of our national Congress. Either of these radical alterations will make equal lay representation in the General Conference feasible and workable. But is the Church ready for either? If not, then the only alternative is to have the General Conference composed in the future on the present basis and ratio of cleric and laic delegations.

Clayton, N. Y. CHARLES SHEARD.

A WORD TO OUR THEOLOGIANS.

THE following was suggested by reading Dr. McChesney's article on the "Methodist Doctrine of Atonement" some time back in the *Review.* I offer it for the devout consideration of our theologians. The Almighty, permitting Adam and Eve to perpetuate a fallen race of human beings, bringing them into sinful conditions with which they had nothing to do and over which they had no control, laid himself under obligation to provide for that race a Saviour and to give every soul a fair chance of being saved. I think it possible that a just consideration of the above truth will throw some new light upon the doctrine of atonement, revealing some things not generally apprehended. RICHARD POVEY.

Provincetown, Mass.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

SOME OF THE RESULTS OF OUR SUMMER SCHOOLS.

The season of summer schools has just closed, and it is well for us to pause and note results. Whether the summer school as an institution has already reached its climax, so that there will be no further advance in this direction, it is impossible at the present time to tell. Many great movements of the kind have so reached their culmination, and have then gradually declined or have rapidly passed away. Unless, however, something new and more valuable shall be discovered to take their place, we hope that these schools will long remain. We may say in general that thus far they have broadened the mental horizon of many persons and introduced topics to the people which, in the nature of things, are excluded from ordinary discussion in Churches and local communities. The preaching of the Gospel is necessarily limited to the teachings of the Bible, especially in its evangelistic aspects. Its object is to bring men to Christ and to edify believers. Many departments of thought, therefore, are not touched upon by the Christian pastor, and rarely by the lecturer who occasionally appears in isolated communities. Such subjects are more or less accessible in the summer schools, and serve to widen intellectual vision and to increase and develop intellectual vigor.

It is true that university extension has lately been striving to accomplish for the people much the same thing during the entire year. The principle of university extension is the imparting of knowledge by carrying great subjects and competent teachers to the people, instead of having the people come to them. Some of our ablest professors prepare courses of lectures and deliver them from place to place, and thus become, so to speak, peripatetic instructors and extend their influence over large sections of country. With the present development of the movement, however, they can of necessity reach but scattered portions here and there of our entire country, and that only at intervals of longer or shorter duration. But the summer schools, though in operation during only a few weeks in each year, compress and concentrate into these weeks a continuous succession of lectures and courses upon the most important subjects. Under the stimulus and momentum of these accumulated privileges the student may be encouraged to continue his studies by himself during the remainder of the year. Some of the foremost authors and scholars present their best work before these schools. A glance at the curriculum of any of our institutions of this kind will show how broad the range of topics. Science, literature, language, art, architecture, physical culture, and the Bible are represented by men well qualified to give instruction. The Greek and Hebrew languages, especially, are taught by some of our ablest biblical scholars. The list of those who lecture and give instruction in them proves how much ability and scholarship these schools employ.

In the public mind they have attained a dignity far beyond what was

originally anticipated. They have received the approbation of all Protestant Churches. The Roman Catholic Church, too, with that clear vision which enables it to recognize what is best calculated to increase its prestige, has established a summer school at Plattsburg, N. Y. Quite recently it received a visit from Archbishop Corrigan, of New York; and Pope Leo XIII has sent it his blessing. Yet, in spite of this general approval, there are dangers connected with these schools as well. There are many to whom institutions of this kind have opened a new world, who have never known that there was so much to be learned. Even those of mature years are often surprised at the vast amount of work required to be done in any course of study; just as theological students sometimes come to theological institutions supposing that in one year they can dispose of the entire course of study, and are astonished and somewhat disheartened when told that, even at the end of a full course, they will have made only a beginning, which is to be supplemented throughout their entire ministerial career. Then, too, a mere superficial acquaintance with many subjects is not to be commended; and those who attend these summer courses should be warned against the results which naturally follow from the short time devoted to so many and such important subjects. Besides, they institute inquiries on profound subjects which cannot be carried to completion in the brief period allotted to their study and discussion. The only remedy of which we can think is that those to whom these fields of knowledge have been opened should continue their studies at their homes under some competent instructor, if it be possible, who may be within their reach. Take, for example, the courses which are offered to beginners in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, and the sciences. One can begin these studies in the summer schools and, by continuing his work at home and attending again next year, will soon find himself so far advanced that he will be able to make rapid progress even without the aid of any instructors.

These schools have given many, at moderate cost and in connection with a summer outing, opportunities for mental improvement, who otherwise might never have obtained an education, which depends on opportunity, environment, emulation, and stimulus. Many young persons coming to these lectures receive a stimulus which is not spent until they have acquired a thorough education. They also enable many to revive studies and make fresh advances in them. The active duties of life often obliterate the results of some branches of study which were of great interest in earlier years. Ministers sometimes complain that they have lost their Hebrew and Greek, and occasionally one who has been through the entire theological course has been heard to say that he had lost the power to even pronounce the Hebrew text. This state of things would disappear if, instead of dropping study altogether, such ministers would attend the summer classes, would review first principles, and listen to some well-qualified professors. Principles which seemed obscure even when first learned would now take definite form, and before long they would find themselves, not only recovering that which had been lost, but also making

progress; and in all probability their preaching thenceforward would be better, more original, more biblical, and more scholarly, because the instinct of scholarship had been reawakened.

These schools also afford rest by change of employment. It is considered by some that the best form of rest is, in popular language, "to vegetate;" that is, to eat, to drink, to sleep, and, in general, to do "absolutely nothing." Others claim that the best form of rest is a change of employment. We are told that a person who has been pursuing one study for a long time and has become fatigued can rest his mind, not by abandoning study altogether, but by devoting his attention to a different subject. The new subject seems to employ a different part of his mentality, and thus affords relief to the particular part which has become wearied. In attendance upon these schools there is constantly something demanding attention. It is something different from that which has engaged one during the year, and thus affords rest and, at the same time, recreation. Fresh studies are restful, especially when one is not under the pressure of obedience to minute regulations, as in other schools.

It is important, however, in order to improve the advantages of the summer schools, that study and attendance upon lectures be not overdone. There are dangers of such a broad distribution of one's efforts as will produce mental and spiritual dissipation. It may well be questioned whether the programs of exercises are not too full. It may be said in defense of them, however, that they afford opportunities for so many departments of study that they meet the requirements of a greater number than would a more restricted list. If they were confined to the teaching of three or four branches or three or four courses of lectures they would be limited in their influence, and consequently would be less useful. The remedy is with the individual, who selects the subjects which he prefers. It is one of the cases where elective courses are absolute, no teacher and no curriculum standing in the way; but it is wise to take only such subjects as one can pursue with ease and profit. It is better to take up one or two departments each year, rarely more than three, and work at these only, but not to a point producing weariness. The object of a summer vacation is to secure rest, and overtaxing in the matter of study will deprive one of the best results; therefore a few studies will produce better results than would an attempt to accomplish all that is laid down in the course. The purport of these remarks should not be misunderstood. One who would secure an education should ever remember that this can only be done by slow and steady growth. The foundation must be carefully laid and the structure carefully and progressively erected. There can be no bounding at once from corner stone to top stone; every intervening stone must be carefully laid in its proper place. Only by recognizing that a course of study should begin with the preparatory school, pass through all the intermediate stages, and close with the professional school, can one attain any adequate idea of the education which is essential for the development of the best manhood and womanhood. That the past season has been productive of good results to the

Church in promoting a healthful mental life and broader views of duty, as well as in affording rest and recreation to multitudes of weary ministers and laymen, cannot well be doubted.

THEOLOGICAL GRADUATES AND THE CONFERENCE COURSE.

THE "Itinerants' Club" is glad to welcome suggestions in regard to the Conference Course of Study and the Conference Examinations. We have a letter inquiring whether the requirement, that a graduate of a theological institution shall, in addition, pass the Conference examinations, does not put a premium upon ignorance. The writer of the letter evidently means that it gives no recognition to the value of special theological training under competent professors, and thus discourages young men from taking a full course of study in our institutions of learning. This subject is a matter much discussed among our younger ministers and by the students in our colleges and seminaries. If our correspondent means that our Conference Course should be abolished and some other method of training our ministry adopted similar to that of other denominations, he raises an entirely new question, and one which can only be decided after full discussion.

The question before us, however, is not whether some other plan is better on the whole than the present one, but whether the graduates of our theological schools shall be excused from passing the prescribed course. In the present status of the Church regulations on this subject this cannot well be done. Every candidate must pass the prescribed course in a manner satisfactory to his Conference. The only way which occurs to us by which the change could be accomplished would be for the bishops, who formulated the Course under the authority of the General Conference, to prescribe a course of study practically identical with that which is passed by the theological student before he graduates. This would be the more practicable since the courses of study in most theological institutions are very similar, so much so that students pass readily from one to another on simple certificates showing their class standing. Such an arrangement would not, perhaps, meet the suggestion of our correspondent; but it would, at least, relieve the student from preparing for examination in new books and subjects. Yet it is scarcely in the region of probability.

The difficulties in the way of substituting theological seminary examinations for Conference examinations make it impossible under present conditions. In the first place, it would transfer the admission of candidates of an Annual Conference to a body of men over whom the Conference has no control. Every Conference is the judge of the terms of admission to its membership, subject to the regulations of the General Conference. A substitution of the theological school course for the Conference Course would, therefore, be not only irregular, but impossible. Again, the acceptance of the examination of the schools as final would be an abrogation of rights and obligations which the ministers in our Conferences would be slow to surrender. They naturally regard it as their duty to obtain

through their own committees some knowledge of the qualifications of the candidates whom they are asked to welcome as fellow-laborers. It might be granted that in some other way the examination could be more thoroughly made; yet this does not free the Conference from its personal responsibility to the Church. All bodies of ministers, so far as we are aware, examine their candidates personally or by their representatives. In the Presbyterian Church candidates are licensed by the presbytery, in the Reformed Church by the classis. In the Church of England each bishop has his examining chaplain. It would hardly be possible, it seems to us, for any Conference to transfer its privilege, responsibility, and authority in this matter.

Any plan which the Church may adopt should be uniform and applied equally to all. If all candidates for our ministry were required to pass the curriculum of our theological seminaries it would be easy to carry out the thought of our correspondent. As it is, however, our young men come from various kinds of schools, and the Church receives them on the basis of the examinations she prescribes, provided they have "gifts, grace, and usefulness." The present method also enables the students to pass through the Course of Study along with those who are to be their associates in labor, mutual interest, and fellowship. As they sit side by side they realize that disparities in their educational advantages disappear, and that they are joint workers in the Master's vineyard. Our correspondent has called our attention to an important subject which we may consider further, and which the Church will surely study more fully as the years go on.

THE ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

THE General Conference in its wisdom has not left our Church without a prescribed order of Sabbath worship. Paragraph 56 of the Discipline contains definite instructions upon this subject. The tendency, however, to substitute for the assigned order an arrangement peculiar to individual churches is certainly widespread. If the practice of the whole Church may be inferred from the customs which obtain in our own locality the order in the different churches varies widely. Some begin their worship with an anthem by the choir, some with a hymn, and some with the doxology. Some recite the Lord's Prayer, and some do not. Some read a responsive lesson from Wesley's *Select Psalms;* some read a psalm selected at random by the pastor; while some, perhaps a goodly proportion, read no responsive lesson at all. Some take the collection before the sermon, and some afterward. In fact, it is hard to imagine a greater diversity than exists in the practice of a Church whose order of worship is so fully outlined in the Discipline. The attention of our younger ministers especially should be directed to this common neglect of the established rules. It is not here contended that the order prescribed is necessarily the best that could be devised; nor is it forgotten that the Discipline inserts the saving clause, "as far as possible," in its directions. Yet local alterations of the rules should not be capricious, injudicious, or unreasonable.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

MUMMIFICATION.

How early the art of embalmment was practiced in Egypt cannot be determined with certainty. There are those who claim that it can be traced back to the first dynasty. The oldest mummy in regard to the age of which there is a general agreement is that of Seker-em-sa-f, son of Pepi I, who lived about B. C. 3200. This was found in 1881, at Sakkara, and is now preserved at Gizeh. Mummification could not have been universal throughout Egypt in the earliest ages, or indeed at any time, for along with bodies swathed in mummy cloth are also found skeletons which show no sign of ever having been bandaged. These, however, from the odor peculiar to them, prove clearly that chemicals similar to those of the embalmer must have been employed in their preparation. The difference of race, religion, or even the poverty of the subject, may account for this. Mummification reaches back to gray antiquity, and continues uninterruptedly to the fourth century of the Christian era, when we notice a growing opposition to the practice on the part of the early Christians, since it incurred a needless expense and was at variance with the teaching of the Church concerning the resurrection of the body. So that by A. D. 700 embalming had almost disappeared even from Egypt.

The time was when our knowledge of embalming was derived almost wholly from Greek and Latin writers. Diodorus and Herodotus wrote at length upon the subject. From the latter we learn that there were three modes—one for the great and wealthy, another for the middle classes, and a third for the very poor. The statements of the Greek historians are known to be, in many regards, at variance with the facts as disclosed to us by recent discoveries and undisputed authority proceeding from the remotest ages. Of late years much light has been shed upon the subject by the decipherment of inscriptions on coffins, sarcophagi, the rock-hewn tombs, and mummy cloths inscribed with passages from the *Book of the Dead*, as well as of the numberless papyri discovered in more than one necropolis. The unrolling of mummies belonging to different dynasties has also contributed materially, in modern times, to our knowledge of Egyptian funereal archæology. The labors of Young, Champollion, and later Egyptologists have familiarized us with mysterious hieroglyphics of the land of the Pharaohs. The decipherment of these documents, sealed for so many centuries, may be regarded now as being reasonably correct, so that we can say with Dr. Budge, speaking of the obsequies of Ani, the great scribe of the offerings of the gods in the temple of Amen-ra: "The facts are all known, and therefore nothing need be invented. It is only necessary to gather them together and bring them to a focus on the person of one man."

From a study of the inscriptions and the entire process of Egyptian embalming and sepulture it becomes clear that the Egyptians not only

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believed in the immortality of the soul, but also in the revivification of the body. Mummification, with its endless details, was performed in the belief that the soul would again return and claim the very body it had to leave at death. The priests of ancient Egypt taught that man was compounded of four distinct parts—the soul, the intelligence, the genius or *ka*, and the material body. When death came the first two separated from the body. The intelligence wandered through space, and the soul performed its dreary pilgrimage in the nether world and, after a probationary absence of from three to ten thousand years, returned to the tomb where the body had been left in charge of the *ka*, which, ever faithful to its sacred trust, never deserted it for a moment. These four parts were now reunited, and the complete man, yea, more than man, was transferred to the kingdom of Osiris, there to enjoy eternal life and divine repose. As entrance to the realm of the great judge of the dead was conditioned upon the reunion of the four parts separated at death, the utmost care was used to preserve the body intact. As the loss of a single organ or member would endanger its resuscitation, it is easy to see why the Egyptians paid such strict attention to the inviolable preservation of the earthly tabernacle. Whoever would care to study the subject in detail cannot do better than to read Dr. Budge's work, entitled *The Mummy*. What adds value to this volume is the fact that it brings the leading data down to our time, and that direct from the monuments themselves.

In the light of these modern discoveries and recent explorations we learn that when an important personage, a man of wealth and influence, died in Egypt, his body was taken to the establishment of the embalmers. It is not certain that the embalmers were themselves of the priestly caste; but we do know that they were held in high esteem and favor by the priesthood. The preparation of the body by a large number of professionals and its final removal to the tomb, incurring an enormous expense, must have been a source of emolument to the hierarchy. This doubtless explains, at least partially, the exorbitant charges connected with burial in Egypt. Embalming being a religious rite and under the immediate supervision of the priests, it was but natural that songs should be chanted, prayers offered, and a regular ritual followed at every step.

The body was first of all washed. The intestines, lungs, heart, and other organs were removed and, having been subjected to a most thorough cleansing, were rinsed in palm wine, stuffed with aromatic substances, and then sewed up. The outside was also rubbed with precious ointments and fragrant oils. The organs were then wrapped up in cloths, expressly made for the purpose, into four packages, which were properly inscribed with hieroglyphs and finally placed in as many Canopic jars or vases. The contents of these jars, we know, were not always the same. In the case of Ani—a papyrus bearing his name is preserved in the British Museum—we learn that the stomach was placed in one jar, the heart in another, the smaller intestines in a third, while the liver was deposited in the fourth. Each vase was inscribed with the name of the departed. It also bore the name of one of the four divinities in immediate charge of the contents.

These four gods, Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf, representing the four cardinal points in the lower world, were themselves under the special protection of four goddesses—Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket, respectively. These vases were, we may add, variously ornamented and hermetically sealed with liquid plaster; for, as already said, it was of the utmost importance that each and every portion of the dead body should be properly preserved. Canopic jars were not universally used, for often we find the viscera separately mummified and wrapped up between the legs and arms of the deceased. In the case of poor Egyptians it is not even probable that the viscera were at all removed. The statements of Plutarch and Porphyry, that the Egyptians took out the intestines, exposed them to the sun, accused them of being the cause of sins committed, and then threw them into the river, cannot be regarded as true, since they are in direct contradiction to the entire meaning of mummification, namely, the inviolable preservation of the body.

The body, having been relieved of the parts most liable to decay, was now steeped for seventy or seventy-two days in a preparation of natron. The fleshiest parts of the body were cut open and filled with chemicals and then stitched up. The cranium and eviscerated body were likewise filled with proper substances. The finger-nails were colored. A ring of gold, silver, or cheaper material was placed upon the little finger of the right hand. The most common amulets discovered in the tombs or on mummies are scarabs (beetles) of various materials. These, as a rule, were suspended from the neck over the breast, or at times placed in the heart. The name of the deceased and a verse from the *Book of the Dead*, in the form of a prayer for safe passage through the lower world, were inscribed upon the scarab. The preliminaries over, the inclosing of the body began. Almost every bandage bore some inscription or religious formula, intended to facilitate the passage of the deceased on his way to his eternal home. Every part of the body was carefully wrapped up, usually commencing with the extremities, and thus continuing till the entire man was completely swathed. Not less than one thousand yards of bandages, from three to four inches wide, have been found on a single mummy. Gums and gluey substances were employed to hold the linen strips in their places; some of them were securely tied, and that with utmost precision. This exactness of procedure becomes clear when we remember that every bandage had its own name and had written upon it the name or figure of some god, as well as a passage from the *Book of the Dead*.

As a specimen of the prayers recited during the embalming let us take the following, which was chanted while the head was wrapped up: "O most august goddess, O lady of the West, O mistress of the East, come and enter into the two ears of the deceased! O doubly powerful, eternally young, and very mighty lady of the West and mistress of the East, may breathing take place in the head of the deceased in the nether world! Grant that he may see with his eyes, that he may hear with his two ears, that he may breathe through his nose, that he may utter sounds from his mouth, and articulate with his tongue in the nether world! Receive his

voice in the hall of truth and justice, and his triumph in the hall of Seb, in the presence of the great god, lord of the West," etc. As specimens of the directions given the embalmers we may cite the following: "Wrap the toes in a piece of cloth. Draw two jackals upon two pieces of linen; and each jackal shall have its face turned toward the other. The jackal on the one bandage is Anubis, lord of Hert; the jackal on the other is Horus, lord of Hebennu. Put Anubis on the right leg and Horus on the left leg, and wrap them up in fine linen."

The solicitude with which the body was prepared would have been defeated unless proper coffins and tombs were also provided. There were usually two coffins, and often three, or even four, one within the other, and each as nearly air-tight as possible. Wooden coffins, usually of sycamore, were in use from remote times. That of Mycerinus, who lived B. C. 3600, is still preserved in the British Museum. Even at that early date inscriptions and a rude figure of the face were carved upon the lid. The sex of the mummy was known from the headdress or the presence or absence of the beard. As time rolled on the decorations became exceedingly elaborate, till in the nineteenth dynasty, or B. C. 1400, coffins were real works of art. Not only was the human face carved, molded, or painted on the outside cover, but both the inside and outside were richly ornamented with figures of the gods, temples, representations of various religious ceremonies, extracts from the *Book of the Dead*, name and titles of the defunct, and a cartouch of the reigning king. These wooden coffins were again placed in stone sarcophagi, which were so constructed as to be hermetically sealed. Though sarcophagi were used during the first dynasties, strange to say there are no examples of any from the seventh to the tenth, or from the thirteenth to the seventeenth. The inscriptions upon them were few at first. The alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I, preserved in a private collection in England, is richly carved, within and without, with numerous directions for the journey through Tuat. The most elaborately ornamented cover of a sarcophagus yet discovered is that of Rameses III.

That the ancient Egyptians firmly believed in a future life for both soul and body is perfectly clear from their funereal rites. The lavish expenditure connected with sepulture cannot be explained as the result of mere priestly deception. The finest *mastabas*, or tombs, were real palaces, elegantly furnished and artistically decorated, pleasant resting places for the *ka* while patiently awaiting the return of the soul. The discoveries, last March, by M. de Morgan at Daschour, of treasures and tomb furnishings belonging to the reign of the Usertsens—twelfth dynasty—valued at more than half a million dollars, will help the reader to form some idea of the splendor and expense of an Egyptian funeral. These ornaments, consisting of scarabs, *cypræa*, bracelets, earrings, vases, and figures of various animals and gods, are also valuable from another standpoint; for these elegant and expensive productions of the goldsmith, made between B. C. 2433 and 2333, prove clearly that a very high state of civilization existed in those early ages, and thus dispose most effectually of many objections urged by the destructive critics.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE INTEREST IN THIBET.

That there is at the present hour a wide circle of missionary workers interested in the opening of Thibet is very manifest. In fact, this land excites interest as a field for evangelism quite apart from its own needs or its claims upon Christian propagandists. One reason of this is the fact, or what is reputed to be a fact, that it is the only country not yet open to aggressive Christian agencies. This is emphasized even in the minds of those who do not accept the common view that the world is to be Christianized before the second coming of Christ. These hold that the Gospel is to be proclaimed in every land as a "witness" only, and that then the present "dispensation" will close and a new order of the divine administration be substituted. Such a view necessarily accentuates the importance of an entrance into this land, as a geographical portion of the world to be, in this restricted sense, "evangelized." The discussion of this theory of interpretation does not fall within our present purpose. We are at a loss, however, to see why, when such vast regions of Africa are yet untouched with the Gospel, and other whole segments of mankind are emphatically shut out from Christian approach by obstacles as insurmountable as the mountain heights of Thibet or the antagonism of its people to foreign invasion, this latter country should assume such unique importance in the minds of even this class of interpreters of teleologic prophecy. As a matter of fact, there are greater geographical stretches in both Africa and Asia, with populations vastly more numerous than that of Thibet, which are as wholly unreached, and some of them as unreachable, by any intelligent presentation of even the fundamentals of the gospel message as are the peoples behind this "last door" in the midair of mid-Asia.

A much less controversial ground of interest in Thibet might be found in its relation to the general Buddhist community of the world. But it holds within itself a distinct form of Buddhism, somewhat carelessly named Lamaism. This is endowed with a vast literature of its own, is quite distinct from the Buddhism of Ceylon or Burmah, and is an offshoot of that of the plains of India. Thus these elevated ranges of the earth hold a distinct type of religious faith, and its people would be little affected by the fall of Buddhism elsewhere in the earth. Here, then, is a separated portion of the human family, which must probably be reached by influences brought to bear directly upon its independent self. It is doubtful whether this little community of six or more millions stands in any such strategic relation to other portions of the human family in Asia as would render it important as a center of power even if evangelized. Its long isolation has put it out of touch with, as well as measurably beyond the power of, outside societies or politics. It seems, therefore, as if its interest and importance, except to those who hold the view of the "com-

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ing of the kingdom" above referred to, were confined solely within itself and to its segregated population. We do not say that this detracts from the duty to spread the Gospel therein; but relatively this land does not seem to be the most important objective point when unreached peoples exist in solid races and nationalities elsewhere.

What interests many persons at this hour much more than any theory of the relative importance of Thibet as a mission field is the relative practicability of the different ways of approach to its people. The indomitable Moravians, sitting down at the west gate of Thibet at Lahoul and patiently translating portions of Scripture into Thibetan—shut in meanwhile for six months of the year, by impassable barriers of ice, from all communication with the rest of the world—challenge the admiration of all who appreciate heroic virtues. But it is exceedingly doubtful if the most practicable way of approach is not by the east rather than by the west. The Darjeeling route on the west is, of course, the shortest in leagues; but is it the shortest when time and all other things are considered? The Methodist mission in West China extends to the very borders of Thibet, and the Thibetans are separated from the people of extreme Sze-Chuen by a very indefinite line. The ethnological boundary is not at all sharply marked. Caravans are constantly passing to and fro between Ta-Tsien-Lu and Lassa. Eastern Thibet is practically an extension of our West China mission field. Roman Catholic missions have long existed in this part of the world. The people of Thibet are certainly jealous of any commercial advances into their territory, and are inhospitable to strangers on that account; but as priests of the Roman Catholic Church have resided there others may hope to do so. The fact that Miss Annie Taylor, with a Thibetan servant, could enter the country and get within easy marching distance of the capital itself unmolested renders reasonable the expectation that she and others who have become associated with her may be permitted to enter it for residence. This does not necessarily mean that, even when settled there, they will find kindly consideration, either for themselves or for their message. The romantic character of their undertaking will give to them a large share of public attention, for this most elevated country of the globe possesses unusual attractions for the imagination. These seven hundred thousand square miles are not exempt from the promise that the uttermost parts of the earth will be given to Jesus Christ for an inheritance; and sooner or later, by quiet extension of influence or by direct assault, Thibet too will be His "possession."

THE APOLOGETIC VALUE OF RECENT REVIVALS IN ASIATIC MISSIONS.

There is nothing connected with foreign mission work which is of intenser interest to the Christian Church than the religious phenomena which result from the preaching of the Gospel among hitherto non-Christian races. We are all familiar with the old-time emotional periods in religion in nominally Christian communities which we are wont to call,

for want of a better name, seasons of revival, and which we are also wont to attribute to supernatural agency—to the divine work of the Holy Ghost. These supernatural influences, as they are accounted, have long been assigned an apologetic character. They are among the evidences of the supernatural origin of the word of God, and are within the provision for an experimental assurance to everyone seeking to know the truth—that truth which makes men free. But, if this is a concomitant of sincere acceptance of the truth among one people, theoretically, at least, it should be so among "every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people." Naturally, therefore, Christians look with interest to see if the same phenomena attend the preaching of the word in heathen lands. And they have not looked in vain. Great revivals have swept over many of the foreign missions of the Churches in various parts of the world, attended with the same inner consciousness of divine power on individuals, one after another, till scores have swelled to hundreds and hundreds to thousands.

Recent illustrations of uniformity in type of spiritual blessing are among the "news from afar" which has gladdened the Churches at home. Rev. William N. Brewster, Methodist Episcopal missionary at Hing-hua, Province of Fo-Kien, China, in the Foo-Chow Conference, writing of a time of refreshing, says that it began at an anniversary of a chapter of the Epworth League in that place, where prayer was being offered "for the Holy Spirit to be poured out upon all the chapters." The usual time to close came, but all felt moved to stay longer and to continue in prayer. The members of the Theological School and the Woman's Training schools all remained, and the sense of the divine presence became, as Mr. Brewster describes it, "awful." All knelt to pray in all parts of the house; and, unconscious of the time occupied, they continued with one accord pouring out their souls to God till the leader told them to rise, but not until after they had been kneeling for forty minutes. This was but the initial meeting. Others followed. Other workers from the adjoining districts were brought in. Twenty-four preachers were present. They were filled with wonder. School-teachers came, other laymen came—a hundred from outside the city. An average of two hundred were at each service. Services were held three times a day. Bands of preachers instituted open-air preaching. It was a genuine "revival." Mr. Brewster writes that the general notion that the Chinese are a stolid, unemotional race, and, hence, that we need not expect to find a joyous, fervid type of piety among them, is a mistaken one; and that while all nations have distinct characteristics, and no doubt the Chinese are less emotional than some other races, yet when filled with the Spirit they exhibit as much joy, and exhibit it in the same way, as other people do under like conditions.

Another illustration is at hand in the religious exercises of the Japanese Christians at Nagoya. These occurred in connection with the Week of Prayer at the beginning of this year, the prayer season being extended to seventeen days. A Pentecostal enthusiasm burst forth. Suddenly an old woman, trembling with emotion, cried out, "God, please pity the breth-

ren and sisters who do not come to these meetings." All present burst into tears. An extreme consciousness of sin and longing for divine blessing came upon one and another; all were the subjects of these exercises of mind and soul. The meeting was continued. The leader gave up a whole day to meditation, fasting, and prayer. Others went to a hilltop not far away for like exercise; then, endued with power from on high, they started upon a house-to-house visitation. That evening two hundred and fifty persons cried, "Release us from Satan! Give us the Holy Ghost and peace!" Three hundred persons assembled the next night. "The evangelists talked till their faces were heated as with fire."

It is needless to go more into detail. The same phenomena have been experienced in the Methodist missions in North China, in the Church of England, the Presbyterian, and other missions; and all furnish fresh inspiration to persons seeking for the conversion of men everywhere, and stoutly certify to the value of this form of Christian evidence.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.

SOONER or later non-Christian communities come to recognize both the meaning and the power of even indirect missionary agencies. Just now the Persian government is opposing a Bible shop, a lithographic press, and even a medical mission and dispensary at Ispahan, the latter conducted by a lady physician, Miss Bird. And, what is still more significant, the Persian government's appeal to the British consul and to her majesty's minister at Teheran show that we have not misinterpreted its policy. The minister says, "The Persian government, while according perfect freedom in religious matters to all communities not professing Islam, have expressed their determination that any interference with the belief of such of their subjects as are Mussulmans shall not be tolerated;" and he serves notice on the British missionaries that they cannot receive government protection against any harm that may ensue from their supporting a Bible shop and dispensary. It is not with the moral or legal quality of this official action that we now deal. It is only quoted to show the quick perception of the Moslem world that the civilization of the Bible and the Bible itself are essentially opposed to Moslem civilization and the Quran. Heathen nations may have been somewhat slow in discerning the power of these agencies, but they sooner or later perceive their ultimate influence. The Chinese memorialists to the throne of the empire distinctly apprehended the peril to the State from the new spirit of Christianity. A contributor to the *Ostasiatische Lloyd*, of Shanghai, in an article entitled "Zur Verständigung," discussing the cause of the Chinese riots, affirms that Christianity cannot but come into collision with the constitutions of heathen States, and declares that "as long as the out-and-out politico-religious constitution of China continues to be founded on its present principles China must continue to regard Christianity as hostile, antinational, and non-Chinese," and that China is now restrained from the prohibition and persecution of Christianity only by constant fear of foreign intervention.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Carl Weizsäcker. Professor of Church History at Tübingen, he has long enjoyed the reputation of being one of the ablest theologians of Germany. Professor Harnack regards his *Das apostolische Zeitalter* (The Apostolic Age) as the greatest work on that subject ever written. To sum up the views of Weizsäcker in the space at our command is impossible. We confine ourselves to his discussion of the appearances of Christ subsequent to his resurrection. He is very confident that the events related in the gospels as having occurred at the grave were unknown to Paul; and, since he is obliged to suppose that Paul received his information concerning the appearances, as related in 1 Corinthians, from the heads of the primitive Church, he argues that they too had never heard of them. There are some things which must be accepted, although they lie outside of the range of historical investigation. But we must begin with the historical fact that Paul and those of whom Paul speaks believed themselves to have seen the risen Lord, and that the sight was not imaginary or in any sense merely subjective, but objectively real. Comparing Paul's ideas of the resurrection body, as found in various portions of his writings, we must believe that Paul saw, not the body of Christ as it went into the grave, but a spiritual body. Hence, we must conclude that the others mentioned by Paul as having seen the risen Lord saw, not a physical, but a spiritual appearance, like that which Paul saw. Nevertheless, what Paul saw when the Lord appeared to him was not a *Phantasie*, but, on the contrary, reality. The report of Paul cannot be reconciled with the report in the gospels; and Paul's report must be accepted. The one great certainty is that the witnesses mentioned by Paul experienced a moment in which they were filled with the certainty that Jesus lived and was with them. It is in such conclusions as these that we discover the full significance of the higher criticism. By the methods of reasoning here pursued the Gospel records concerning the resurrection are set aside as worthless products of a later age, and Paul's account is interpreted as being determinative for the nature of the appearances even to those who believed before Paul. Weizsäcker says nothing about the coincidence of the time at which Jesus is declared, both by the evangelists and Paul, to have risen from the dead; nor of the implications connected with the fact that he was dead three days and then came to life. The accounts in the gospels and Acts are more satisfactory than Paul's.

Jules Bovon. The Frenchmen who carefully and originally study theological questions are few; but Bovon is one of the few. He is professor of theology in the Free Church faculty at Lausanne, and author of a number of works which have attracted considerable attention in France.

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He has projected a monumental work of six volumes on the theology of the New Testament. The first volume has appeared, under the title *La Vie et l'Enseignment de Jésus*, which is in reality a study of the work of redemption in Christ. His researches in this volume rest upon a twofold supposition, namely, on the one side, that that which is new and creative in the teachings of Jesus is not his message, but the Messenger himself; and, on the other, that the preaching of the kingdom of heaven and the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus can only be understood and appreciated in connection with the history of Jesus and his time. So far he is in harmony with the most recent students. But he draws from these premises the conclusion that New Testament theology must start with an examination of the facts of Christ's life; and here he diverges from the prevailing view, namely, that the facts of Christ's life need not be investigated with reference to their credibility in order to the formation of a New Testament theology. We are inclined to side with Bovon. It is true that the theology of the New Testament can be studied with as much indifference to the reality of the alleged facts of the New Testament as one might experience in studying the theology of Homer. The theology of the New Testament is one thing, and the reality of it is another. But to deny the New Testament theologian the right to investigate the reality of the life of Christ as portrayed in the gospels would be to deny him the right to criticise his sources. The Christian theologian is more than a theologian. He is also a Christian. To him the question is, not merely what the New Testament teaches, but also how much of what it teaches is true. And this is a vital question. There must be no divorce between criticism and positive theology. The results of a true criticism must be incorporated into the Christian system. Forgetfulness of this principle has made criticism incautious and New Testament theology a matter of purely literary interest. If the critics can prove that Christ did not really rise from the dead we can no longer believe in the resurrection. The truth of the gospel utterances must be tested.

C. H. Scharling. According to its size Denmark has produced a relatively large number of able investigators and thinkers. Among the more recent, Scharling has distinguished himself by his work on Christian ethics, a department already well studied by that other great Dane, Martensen. He takes what seems to us the only tenable position relative to the true nature and function of conscience, when he defines it as the consciousness of mankind that the moral law possesses absolute validity and as the judge which necessarily estimates all our acts accordingly. That man possesses along with this a moral judgment is unquestionable. And it may be freely admitted that the conscience and moral judgment intimately cooperate. When the moral judgment declares an act wrong the conscience accepts the *dictum* as law and moves the will against it. But, however blind may be the impulse which drives us to follow the dictates of the moral judgment, it is the impulse, and not the judgment, which we rightly call conscience. The judgment is capable of being

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corrected or altered; but the impulse is constant. It may be made more strong or more sensitive; but it can never be made to excuse us for doing what our judgment says is wrong. In another particular we cannot so well agree with the views of Scharling. He holds that duty has validity only for the individual in his particular circumstances. This is so far true that duty is sometimes modified by circumstances. But duty is not confined to individuals. There are public duties. In their associated capacity men do not lose their identity to such an extent that what would be wrong for them as individuals becomes right or excusable in association. The individual must distinguish between his duty when acting alone and for himself and when acting as an integral part of society. As a member of society he may be powerless to prevent wrongs which he would not personally commit. But he must not fail to protest against them. And it is most important that men should learn that what is wrong for an individual is equally wrong for a corporation or a State. And there are very few duties of the individual which are not equally the duties of the State. It is as wrong, for example, for the State to derive revenue from the liquor traffic as for the individual.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Der Jesuitenorden von seiner Gründung bis zur heutigen Zeit" (The Order of Jesuits from its Organization to the Present Day). By J. Dorneth. The Jesuit question is not so burning with us as it is with the Germans, although perhaps it ought to be. The book here mentioned is not intended to exhibit original research, but sprang from the purpose to show up in its true light the enemy which Protestant Christianity has to fear and which was, at the time of publication, seeking the legal right to exist in Germany. We venture the assertion that whoever will read this book, which ought to be translated or duplicated in English, will rise from its perusal with a profounder respect for Protestantism, a more thorough comprehension of the wickedness of Romanism, and a deeper dread than ever of the danger which threatens us. If ever the hypocrisy of Rome was made apparent it is in the history of the relation of the Order of Jesuits to the popes. The order was originated chiefly for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the pope in a time when Protestantism threatened to speedily capture the world. Among their earliest doctrines was that of papal infallibility; and it was through them that the blasphemous doctrine was finally promulgated by the Vatican Council in 1870. To-day the order is in the highest repute with the pope. But let us look back at the history. The popes upheld the order only when they thought they could get gain by so doing, and the Jesuits turned on the pope when he opposed them. In 1773 Pope Clement XIV said: "In consideration of the fact that it is utterly impossible, so long as the Society of Jesus exists, to secure the true and permanent peace of the Church, we do hereby, with mature reflection, on the basis of well-ascertained facts, and out of the full-

ness of our apostolic authority, abolish, suppress, blot out, and do away with the above-mentioned society." No sooner had this been done than the Jesuits began to deny the infallibility of the pope and to teach that princes should not be subject to him, but hold themselves responsible alone to God, and that even the appointment of the bishops should not be made by the popes. In 1814 Pius VII restored the order and declared that he would violate his duty if he should refuse the assistance of such experienced pilots while threatened every moment with shipwreck and death on so stormy a sea. Immediately the Jesuits again swore allegiance to the "infallible representative of Christ." Comment is needless.

"Das christliche Personlichkeitsideal des Jacobus" (St. James's Ideal of Christian Personality). By Karl Pahncke. The author places the Epistle of James alongside of 1 Corinthians as a sort of supplement. In all that Paul has to say in 1 Corinthians he gradually proceeds to the goal of his purpose, which is to depict the ideal Christian congregation, portraying for all generations and all periods what is and what is not becoming in the Christian society. But James writes to describe the ideal Christian personality. It is not Christianity and not the individual Christian congregation, but the individual Christian as he should be, with which James is concerned. It is the piety of the individual, the "perfect man," of which he treats. Such is the declaration of the author in the first part of his book, and it is an attractive thought. The great difficulty with it is that the facts do not justify it. Some sort of an idea of a perfect man must have been in the mind of James or he would not have mentioned it. But the idea of a perfect man is not the ruling idea of the epistle. It deals by no means so much with what the Christian ought to be as with what he ought not to be. It is conceived in the true Old Testament fashion of "Thou shalt not." The apostle reminds us of the old Hebrew prophet rebuking the sins of God's people. There is in his language all the severity of the Old, and very little of the tenderness of the New, Testament, and at the same time he does not depict at all the possibilities of grace. The epistle certainly does not describe the Christian ideal, nor even the Christian ideal in the mind of James, except as he denounces in the most scathing terms the evils existing among those to whom he wrote, and thus by inference recommends the opposite virtues. These faults must be recognized in order that we may understand the epistle. He is not, as the title of the work under consideration would indicate, describing an ideal condition, whether for a congregation or for an individual; but he is meeting the actual conditions of the Jewish congregations of the dispersion. And as it is not an ideal condition which he aims to depict, so it is not a specifically Christian condition. There is, indeed, an expressed or implied reference to the Christian faith throughout the epistle. But what the apostle condemns would be likewise condemned by a Jew who was not a Christian at all. The Jewish Christians to whom he wrote seem to have deteriorated under the influence of the Gentiles among whom they lived.

"Die Eschatologie des Paulus" (The Pauline Eschatology). By R. Kabisch. In reading German books one is often impressed that their authors either began to write before they had fully determined their opinions, and so were led astray by some chance suggestion, or else started out with the distinct purpose of seeing what proof they could produce for an unexpected and unwarrantable position. Under which of these categories to place Kabisch's book we do not know. Certain it is that, when he makes death and sin to stand for personalities as truly as God is a personality, he is taking ground which no one who has not recklessly given himself up to folly would take. Nevertheless, there are some excellent things in his book, and for their sakes we mention it here. The principal proposition of the book is that for Paul the future is the essential element in the Christian consciousness. Salvation from the wrath to come, the eternal reward, separation from this mortal body appear everywhere as the final goal of his desire and thought. Paul's highest good is life; the greatest evil, death. By this life he means indestructibility; by death not spiritual, moral death, but extinction, which is the only punishment for sin which Paul knows. Death, extinction, annihilation are a reproach and a shame. Against this view of Paul's emphasis of eschatological facts Kabisch places what he calls the modern view, which dissipates the thought of reward as the spring of all moral effort, and makes the present possession of sanctification, justification, and grace not the means, but the end—the real salvation. He attempts to connect this so-called modern view with Kant's categorical imperative, which scorns all reward and recommends the doing of good for its own sake. We are not convinced that Kabisch is right in much of this; and we are quite certain that he is wrong in part. Yet there can be no doubt that he calls attention to a defect in modern theology and preaching. Not only Paul, but our Lord and all the writers of the New Testament, hold out as an inducement to virtue the hope of reward, and as a warning against vice the fear of punishment. In the days when this fact was fully recognized, perhaps even overemphasized, truth was more effective than it is to-day. Now we carry our thoughts of disinterested love and benevolence to such an extreme that it is almost shameful for us to acknowledge that we care anything whatever about the recompense of the reward. But such is not the spirit of the Gospel.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Schools of Italy. Superintendent Oswald (of Germany) has recently written a little book on the public schools of Italy which is full of profoundest interest. The task of Italy in the matter of public education is gigantic. The climate has to be taken into consideration; and the mixture of races on Italian soil, with a large element in some localities of the oriental, has its influence also. But in the thirty years since Garabaldi landed at Marsala much has been accomplished. The obligatory course of study extends but three years; but it is something to have

secured even this. And still more important is it that those having taken this course of study enjoy advantages not accorded to others. Boys and girls who have gone through these years of study and have afterward served an apprenticeship in some occupation are given the preference by employers; the thus educated soldier is granted privileges withheld from others; and the right of suffrage in the cities is made dependent upon it. Besides, in the larger cities a more extensive course is encouraged; instead of three, the studies extend over five, years. After these years come the gymnasium schools, or the technical, industrial, or professional, open to both sexes. Normal schools are also open to girls. The principal defect, from the standpoint of the German author of whom we speak, is in the department of religious instruction. The pope does nothing to help in this cause, except in such a way as will serve to bind the young to his Church. Only in the schools which are under the influence of the Protestants of Italy is there any attempt at a genuine religious training. The Italian school authorities look upon religion as a mere moderating, not a leading, force. Hence the city schools are left free to do as they will concerning religious education. But the majority of the schools are without religious exercises, because the people, while loving religion, hate and fear the priests to whose care religious instruction in public schools is generally committed. Here is found the necessity of the Church schools, both Protestant and Romanist. The schools of the Jesuits stand very high, as do also those of the Waldenses, the latter being preferred by many on account of their loyalty to Italy.

A Monster Lay Petition. Ever since Pastor Schrempf rose up in rebellion against the compulsory reading of the Apostles' Creed by those pastors who do not believe its tenets the agitation in Würtemberg has been tremendous. A petition signed by eleven thousand five hundred and forty-four layman was recently presented to the king. The petitioners are of the orthodox party, and they bewail the denial of so many of the fundamental doctrines of the faith, and also the negative attitude assumed by so many of the pastors toward the Bible. They do not find so much fault with the pastors as with the university professors. Nor do they expect speedily to repair the damage which has been done. But they propose a new professorship, which shall always be filled by one to their own liking, and a preachers' seminary, to be manned by orthodox professors, in which all candidates for the ministry shall spend at least one year prior to entering upon the duties of their office. The petitioners affirm that the chasm between the faith of the pastors and that of the congregations has reached the danger point. Of course, the petition raised a storm of opposition. It is asserted that it was circulated secretly, and such conduct is declared to be unevangelical and unprotestant. The opposition declare it to be a petition instigated by the orthodox pastors, and given out under the pretense that it sprang from the laity. The right of petition none will deny; and none who can put himself in the place of the petitioners will question that something needs to be done.

In this country the number and variety of the denominations makes the management of such cases comparatively easy. But in Germany the dread of schism is quite as great as the dread of heresy. The unity of the German Church is threatened by the intense strain now put upon it by the conflicts in theology.

Students' Conferences in Germany. The very frequent defection of students from Christianity has led to the establishment of students' conferences, whose purpose it is to assemble yearly all those students in German universities who feel the need of strengthening in the Christian faith, which object is to be attained by means of discussions with that end in view. The first of these conferences was held in the winter of 1889. At a recent session in Frankfort-am-Main, Count Pückler, of Berlin, one of the most earnest and active of Germany's younger Christian workers, acted as president. The purpose of the conference is not to work for the conversion of unbelievers among the students, but to confirm and strengthen those who are already believers, and thus to preserve them from the anti-Christian influences which so often prevail in university life. America could undoubtedly teach Germany much in a matter like this, as a comparison of their method with ours under similar circumstances will show.

Tobacco Interdicted in Persia. The heathen priests of the country have recently laid their interdict upon the use of tobacco, and the people obey the command. Not content therewith, they have begun a bitter crusade against the Christians, in which they invite the assistance of the Mohammedans. They can see no difference between the Christian preacher and Christian tobacco and brandy. Christianity is made responsible for the diabolical conduct of the sons of Christian countries. It is but little wonder that well-disposed heathen rise up against the civilization which carries in its wake opium, whisky, and tobacco. It is high time for earnest Christians of so-called Christian lands to demand that their governments shall prohibit the introduction of these degrading articles into countries where missionaries are preaching the Gospel.

The Protestant Association and Missions. This rationalistic society recently undertook to establish a missionary work, thereby to prove that it had the same spiritual energy as the orthodox Churches, and a far wiser and better method of carrying on the work. The results, however, have not been very encouraging. The deficit last year was 9,000 marks, and this year will be at least 10,000 marks. In order to avoid bankruptcy altogether the managers request the members to contribute one mark each, or at least a half mark. If this be not done they will be obliged to recall their missionaries. But recently this same society boasted of the great results it had accomplished. There was nothing in the principles of the German Protestant Association to warrant the expectation that its members would be zealous in endeavors to convert the world to Christ.

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SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The interests of America—and chiefly that portion of the continent included within the territory of the United States—lie closest to the common heart of our readers. Without disparagement of that marvelous empire which radiates from the little British isles to the furthest bounds of the Australian sea, or of reorganized and rejuvenated France, or of the German Fatherland, the American heart puts America first in its affections. Believing in the prophecies that the Republic is to be the instrumentality particularly chosen for the advancement of Christianity throughout the world in the twentieth century, and conceding, perhaps too lightly, the tremendous responsibility thus laid upon the United States, we wait impatiently, as moralists and religionists, for the results of this great leadership. Three articles in the current reviews, discussing matters of American history and growth, will therefore appeal to the particular notice of readers of magazine literature.

In the *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, for July, is found a continuation of the discussion, "Were the Ancients Acquainted with America?" If not a subject of particular novelty, yet it will not soon grow threadbare. Its author, R. E. Blackwell, takes the negative position on the question, his conclusion, without his arguments, being to the following effect: "The Phœnicians possessed the enterprise. and though without the compass they were prepared chiefly for coast voyages, yet longer voyages than from the Canaries to America have been known to be made with no better equipments than they had. The case is certainly stronger for the Phœnicians than for the Greeks and Romans, primarily because we have not their literature of discoveries, and thus the imagination is not chained down to facts; but also because they were better seamen and did discover more than the Greeks and Romans. . . . We might thus account for all the stories about the continent west of Europe by the supposition that the Phœnicians discovered America and attempted, for commercial reasons, to keep the knowledge of it from getting abroad among the nations; and thus when the Phœnician power was destroyed only the vaguest reports of America remained to form the basis of myth and fable. In spite, however, of all that can be said in favor of such theories, the preponderance of evidence shows that the Canaries were the farthest westerly islands known to the ancients."

Of the divine direction over our national life the Rev. T. F. Dornblaser writes in the July number of the *Lutheran Quarterly*. His article, entitled "Providence in our History," while not particularly philosophical or scholarly, is yet reverent in its emphasis of the divine leadership. "America," he says, "with her free institutions and her increasing millions of liberty-loving citizens, is designed to lift her torch higher than all others in her beneficent mission of 'enlightening the world?' The theater of providence is transferred from the Old to the New World."

In the *North American Review* for August the leading article is by the Hon. Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, who writes on "The Resources and Development of the South." This section of our territory he declares to be favored with "a climate pleasant in winter and not oppressive in summer, with a vast expanse of territory suited to every variety of agricultural pursuit, with limitless undeveloped wealth, with ample iron, coal, and lumber alongside of cotton fields." And while other parts of the land have outstripped it hitherto in acquiring wealth, this has been owing to conditions which no longer exist. For the first time "the whole resources of the South are to assert themselves, freed from any convincing influences." In proof of this the writer drops into bewildering figures. From Norfolk alone he states there is yearly shipped over $6,000,000 worth of vegetables and fruits; the "annual output of the saw and planing mills grew in the period from 1880 to 1892 from $38,000,000 to $117,000,000;" since 1880 the coal production has increased from 3,000,000 to 25,000,000 bushels; the increase in the iron production has been 500 per cent since 1880; the manufacture of cotton has increased since 1880 from 342,048 to 2,171,147 spindles, and the value of the yearly product from $16,350,000 to $54,200,000. Such are a few of the bewildering figures with which the secretary enriches his article, and they justify the superlative words of Judge Kelley, that the South is "a country upon which the Almighty has with most lavish hand bestowed his richest material gifts."

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July is weighty rather than striking. It opens with a lengthy article by Rev. A. A. Berle, on "The Bible as Authority and Index." Of the Scripture the writer concludes: "It is authority, but it is the authority of a spiritual force, spiritually apprehended. It is an index, but an index understood by the partakers of the experiences which have been interpreted. But out of both it comes a word of God." The second article, by Professor Theodor Zahn, D.D., of Erlangen, is the concluding portion of a paper on "The Adoration of Jesus in the Apostolic Age." Under the ambiguous title of "A New Method with an Old Problem" Professor E. H. Johnson, D.D., discusses whether justice or benevolence holds the primacy in the divine character and dealings. The fourth article, by the Rev. W. E. C. Wright, on "Christian Fellowship as Affected by Race," sets forth the fact that among American Congregationalists little heed is given to racial differences, except in "the relation of white Christians to negro Christians." Following this assertion the writer shows that the Congregationalists are burdened with the same vexed problem which is upon other denominations for settlement. The next article, by Rev. A. E. Thomson, on "Sin in This and Other Worlds," is a curious guess at truth. So far as sin relates itself to other planets the author substantially holds as follows: 1. There are reasons for believing that other worlds besides the earth are inhabited. 2. If those inhabitants have the power of moral choice they have the power of sinning, and are as likely to sin as we. 3. If they have sinned they must all be lost,

unless Christ has made atonement for them. 4. Christ has died but once. 5. It is not easy to understand how his atonement on Calvary is sufficient for the pardon of sinners in other parts of the universe. 6. The effects of sin are baneful, its cure is difficult, and the sinner is impotent. 7. This earth has a vicarious work to perform; "it suffers for the universe." The sixth article, by Professor J. C. Long, D.D., discusses "The Historic Episcopate," and concludes that in America there is no generally accepted hierarchy, but that in the pastors of thousands of churches is found a true historic episcopate. In the seventh article, on "Israel and the Gospel," Professor G. H. Schodde believes that "there never has been a period since the apostolic era when, in a large section of Judaism, the fullness of time seems so clearly to have come for the Jews as it has done at the present time. Here, too, the grain now seems to be ripe for the harvest." The concluding article, on "Recollections of Noah Porter," by Professor Jacob Cooper, D.D., is a delightful reminiscence of the great president of Yale.

THE *Century* for August is called the "Midsummer Holiday Number," and is a charming companion for the seaside or the mountains. Its opening paper, by F. Marion Crawford, on "Washington as a Spectacle," describes some phases of life in the most fascinating of American cities. The conclusion of "A Cumberland Vendetta," by John Fox, Jr., is contained in this number. The fourth installment of "Across Asia on a Bicycle," by Messrs. Allen and Sachtleben, follows, with some of the twenty-five hundred kodak views which they took on their memorable journey. In a paper on "Poe in the South" certain selections are given from the correspondence of the great poet, formerly in the possession of Dr. Griswold. They do not greatly redound to Poe's credit. "Dr. Morton's Discovery of Anæsthesia" is an intensely interesting account of the first use of ether in surgical operations, and puts the tardy crown upon the head of a discoverer whose honors have been disputed. A debate on woman suffrage, by Senator G. F. Hoar and Dr. J. M. Buckley, will attract attention for its timeliness and vigor. The senator advocates the extension of suffrage to woman and says, "When she shall be admitted to complete citizenship these qualities of American womanhood will become more and more the qualities of American citizenship itself."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for July has as its table of contents: 1. "Lives of Dr. Pusey and Dean Stanley;" 2. "Old Dorset;" 3. "Memoirs of an Internuncio;" 4. "The Verdict of the Monuments;" 5. "Marcella;" 6. "Death in Classical Antiquity;" 7. "Secret Negotiations of Marlborough and Berwick;" 8. "Bonney's Story of our Planet;" 9. "The Arabian Horse;" 10. "The Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville;" 11. "The Ministry of the Masses." In comparing the two great Oxonians noticed in the first article the writer says: "Pusey is, and must continue to remain, the representative of a Church and creed altogether alien to the great body of our countrymen; while Stanley will be found to minister to the imperative wants of their religious culture and aspiration,

for an indefinite future." The second article reviews Mr. Moule's *Old Dorset: Chapters in the History of the County*, and has naturally but a local interest. The initial sentence in "Memoirs of an Internuncio" is a clew to the whole review: "The curious work which is the subject of this article is of very exceptional interest, because it contains so many graphic details of events wherein Mgr. de Salamon bore a part during the Reign of Terror and under the government of the Directory." The fourth article reviews the recent work of Dr. Sayce on the testimony of the ancient monuments to the truth of the Hebrew Scriptures. Whatever the merits of the case may be, the critic is sufficiently iconoclastic for all purposes. He finds it impossible to regard Dr. Sayce's volume as of "permanent literary value, on account of the many unsound and paradoxical statements that mar almost every page, representing views which are not generally accepted as final results, and ignoring knowledge which is contradictory to those views." Whoever is interested in Mrs. Humphrey Ward and her multiplying novels will appreciate the review of *Marcella*, which constitutes the fifth article. As regards the Grecian and Roman ideas of the future life, the writer of the next article finds that their views were most varied: "Without mentioning the Skeptics, there were those who believed that the soul lived in the tomb, or in hades, or in both places at the same time; others, that it had to go through a probation of many lives on earth, that it returned to the ether whence it came, or that it dwelt with the gods." The seventh article deals with a matter of diplomacy long since antiquated, the period covered being 1708, 1709. The eighth article is a review of a work on geology. The ninth sets forth the merits of the far-famed Arabian steed. The writer of the tenth article finds in the Countess Granville "a female counterpart to Horace Walpole" as to her society pictures, the difference between their letters being that Walpole wrote in a finished elegance, while the letters of the countess were "perfectly natural, and their publication was probably the last thing that she ever contemplated." In the biography by her son, now issued, we have "a genuine portrait of one of the most distinguished women of her time," and a "comprehensive survey of society in the most brilliant period of the nineteenth century." The final article, based upon certain recent speeches of Balfour, Harcourt, and the Duke of Devonshire, is a suggestion of possibly impending changes in the methods of English politics. After noticing the tendency of the ministry toward electioneering the writer concludes: "The political situation is evidently transitional, and the country is not likely to rest contented till statesmanship of a different order is once more in the ascendant."

THE *Critical Review*, like the *Edinburgh*, is devoted to extended notices of current books. Among the volumes reviewed in the July number are: 1. Drummond's *Ascent of Man*, whose definition of evolution as "the gradual unfolding of the divine plan as regards all things physical, mental, moral, social, religious," Professor J. G. McKendrick thinks "will not commend itself to many thoroughgoing evolutionists." 2. Knight's

Aspects of Theism, which Professor A. B. Bruce recommends as "popular without being superficial," and "at once strictly philosophical and genuinely poetical." 3. Reusch's *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, treating of "subjects which the Jesuits prefer to leave untouched, and to see untouched by others." Among these is the "doctrine of the assassination of tyrants." 4. Upton's *Lectures on the Bases of Religious Belief*. 5. Kidd's *Social Evolution*, which A. T. Innes, of Edinburgh, finds a "rich and suggestive book," although it is "one more instance of rapid and premature crystallization—crystallization around a tempting paradox." 6. Pfleiderer's *Philosophy and Development of Religion*, constituting the Gifford Lectures before the University of Edinburgh, 1894. 7. Marson's *The Psalms at Work*, whose aim is "to exhibit the influence of the Psalms on the mind of Christendom." 8. Iverach's *Christianity and Evolution*, which shows that evolution, so far as it is scientifically established, "conflicts neither with theism, nor with the distinctive spiritual nature of man, nor with supernatural revelation." 9. Cave's *The Spiritual World*. 10. Conybeare's *Monuments of Early Christianity*, in which the author, translating from the Armenian, gives "an insight into the practical working of Christianity during the first three centuries of its history." 11. Budé's *Vie de Jacob Vernet*, the distinguished theologian of Geneva. 12. Spitta's *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*, which is another microscopic search after New Testament errors by a critical scholar. 13. Smith's *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, which Major C. R. Conder pronounces "among the most scholarly yet published." 14. Arthur's *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, whose style "lacks lucidity," but which is "anything but dull reading." 15. *Report and Papers of the Fifth Annual Meeting* of the American Society of Church History. 16. Kerr Bain's sermons, entitled, *For Heart and Life*. 17. Houston's *The Daughter of Leontius*. 18. *Fallen Angels*, by "one of them," which undertakes the tremendous task of discovering "why the earth, that is the Lord's, with the fullness thereof, should be full of rapine, violence, cruelty, suffering, and misery." 19. Weiss's *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Blass's *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, and Weiss's *Die Johannes-Apokalypse*. 20. Mirbt's *die Wahl Gregors VII*, in which the author examines the question as to whether the election of Hildebrand to the papacy was canonically valid—an inquiry which impresses the reader as a little tardy, inasmuch as the great pope has been dead for over eight centuries!

THE *Missionary Review* for August opens with an article on "The Real and the Romantic in Missions," by Dr. A. T. Pierson. Taking the recent work by James Johnston, M.D., on mission work in South Central Africa, as the basis of his article, Dr. Pierson aims to show that the book gives an incorrect impression of Christian progress in that distant land. As a whole it is "a mistake," and "those who would get at the complete truth as to African missions must listen to the testimony of other witnesses

besides the author of *Reality versus Romance.*" The Rev. A. H. Smith, of Shantung, China, writes the first of two papers on "Time as a Factor in Christian Missions." Mrs. A. R. Fenn, of Madrid, follows with a brief narration of needs in the "Chamberi Evangelical Mission, Madrid, Spain." Some wholesome words on the right training of missionaries are spoken by Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, in his paper on "The Place of Higher Education in Missionary Work." The Rev. James Douglas, of London, gives his third paper on the "Unoccupied Mission Fields of the World," treating particularly of the needs of Africa and South America. The latter, he says, "has with justice been termed the most neglected continent in the world." The Rev. S. A. Moffett discusses "Practical Confucianism and Practical Christianity in Korea." After describing the indifference to the aged sick and the dishonor to the dead which he had witnessed he concludes, "Theoretical Confucianism contrasted with Christianity in a Parliament of Religions at Chicago is one thing; practical Confucianism illustrated in Korea is quite another." The final contributions are on "Missionary Work in Northern Bulgaria," by Rev. L. T. Guild, and "The McAll Mission," by Louisa S. Houghton. The editorial departments which follow are full and entertaining, particularly noticeable being the account of the eleventh annual meeting of the International Missionary Union, at Clifton Springs, N. Y., June 13-20.

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for July contains: 1. "The Place of Christ in Modern Theology," by Robert Watts, D.D., LL.D.; 2. "Side-Lights on the Correlation between Thoughts and Words," by H. C. Alexander, D.D.; 3. "The Original Manuscript of the Pentateuch," by H. A. White, D.D.; 4. "The Power of the People in the Government of the Church," by W. A. Campbell, D.D.; 5. "Addison Once More," by C. A. Smith, D.D. The first article is a discriminating review of Principal Fairbairn's great work. The second paper is a close discussion in the domain of metaphysics. In the third article Dr. White defines his own position on the subject discussed as follows: "We prefer still the theory of an original autograph of the Pentateuch by Moses. This theory does not deny the credibility of Old Testament history; it accepts the story of the Jewish race in the order in which it was recorded by inspired scribes; it calls not for assistance from any philosophical or linguistic hypotheses; it accepts the testimony of the Church as strong evidence in support of its claims, though not inspired and conclusive evidence. Moreover, a belief in the Mosaic autograph underlies the piety of many princes in Israel of the past, as well as of the present." The fourth paper is a discussion of a certain phase of Presbyterian polity, involving principles which prevail in general ecclesiastical law. A great literary light of the eighteenth century is noticed in the last article. The writer holds that, while Addison was "not one of the world's great men," he did a great work. The doings of the late General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, South, at Macon, are also interestingly set forth in the editorial notes.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible: showing every Word of the Text of the Common English Version of the Canonical Books, and every Occurrence of each Word in Regular Order; together with a Comparative Concordance of the Authorized and Revised Versions, including the American Variations; also Brief Dictionaries of the Hebrew and Greek Words of the Original, with References to the English Words. By JAMES STRONG, S.T.D., LL.D. Quarto, pp. 1,809. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $6; half Russia, $8; half Morocco, $10—net.

The world of to-day is a very large one, and has a tendency to rapidly increase its proportions. The amount of information offered by book, magazine, and newspaper is fairly bewildering; and each of us must dismiss a large share thereof with only a casual glance. The rest of it is indexed and laid away for future reference. It is well, indeed, to develop the memory; but one despairs of retaining even a tithe of such information as can be utilized. Indexes are, therefore, in order. A concordance is an index of the Bible, and, if correct, a most useful aid to the student thereof. The probabilities of correctness in the volume before us will be considered below. A concordance, however, is not all that Dr. Strong has included in his work, but, as the title shows, there are two concordances and two dictionaries. Of these we shall write in order.

I. *The Main Concordance.* This is, of course, the main feature of the work, and upon its excellence depends the value of the whole. Two things are absolutely essential to a good concordance—completeness and facility of reference. Dr. Strong entered upon the task of making his concordance with these two features well in mind. We use the word "making" intentionally, as opposed to "compiling," for his is an original work and depends upon no other concordance for its material. This is not a readjustment of material furnished by the older concordances. It may interest the reader of this article to be made acquainted with the method pursued by our author. The Bible was divided into sections and assigned to his helpers. A list of unimportant particles was made, to be referred to merely by chapter and verse, with a superior figure signifying how many times the word occurred in each verse. Thus, under "the," "Ge 1:1^3" indicates that the word appears three times in the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis. All such references are excluded from the main concordance, and are found by themselves on pages 1220–1340. While the principal reason for this part of the work is to make good the claim to exhaustiveness, yet there are uses to which it may be profitably put. Outside of this list of particles all words were written with their contexts, and care was taken to make as complete a sentence as possible. Thus the manuscript was made directly from the text. When it was completed each word was placed in its alphabetical order. Then followed the work of revision, the standard of which was the *Parallel Bible*, large octavo, published at Oxford, England, 1886. Each passage was searched

out afresh in the Bible. The reference figures and the words were carefully compared, the line was checked on the margin of the manuscript, and the word at that place was erased with a pencil-mark on the face of the Bible. The unerased words were copied out and inserted in their proper place, and perfect completeness and accuracy was insured to the manuscript. While going through the press the same process of verification was repeated, the author reading the proofs twice or thrice. In order to show the superiority of this concordance in completeness and ease of reference a comparison is given between it and the concordances of Cruden and Young. The passage selected at random is Jer. xxxii, 10: "And I subscribed the evidence, and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed him the money in the balances." The references are under the following eight words: 1. "subscribed;" 2. "evidence;" 3. "sealed;" 4. "took;" 5. "witnesses;" 6. "weighed;" 7. "money;" 8. "balances."

STRONG.

1. "I *s*· the evidence, and sealed it,"
2. "I subscribed the *e*·, and sealed it,"
3. "subscribed the evidence, and *s*· it,"
4. "and sealed it, and *t*· witnesses,"
5. "evidence, and sealed it, and took *w*·,"
6. "*w*· him the money in the balances."
7. "weighed him the *m*· in the balances."
8. "weighed him the money in the *b*·"

CRUDEN.

1. "I *s.* the evidence, and sealed it"
2. "I subscribed the *e.* and sealed it"
3. "I subscribed and *s.* the evidence"
4. No reference given.
5. "I sealed the evidence and took *w.*"
6. No reference given.
7. Referred to under verse 9.
8. "I weighed him the money in the *b.*" The word, however, is not in its alphabetical order, following "bald," "baldness," etc.

YOUNG.

1. "Subscribed" given, but under "subscribe."
2. "I subscribed the evidence, and sealed (it)"
3. "Sealed" given, but under "seal."
4. "Took" is given under "take," but this passage is not referred to.
5. "Witnesses" is given under "witness."
6. "Weighed" is given under "weigh."
7. "and weighed . . . the money in the balances"
8. "weighed . . . the money in the balances"

Of the eight words by which one might expect to find the passage Dr. Strong gives all, each under its own heading, and with an exact quota-

tion of Scripture. Cruden gives three exact quotations, two inexact quotations, one indirect reference, and has two omissions. Young gives three direct references, four indirect (under another word), and omits any reference to "took."

Another advantage possessed by this concordance is its absolutely alphabetical arrangement. Take "hear" and its derivatives as an illustration. Dr. Strong arranges them as follows: "hear," "heard," "heardest," "hearer," "hearers," "hearest," "heareth," and "hearing." Dr. Young has the following arrangement: "hear" (under which are also given references to "heard," "heardest," "hearest," "heareth," and "hearing"), "to cause to hear," "to let hear," "to make to hear," "to hear tell," "to hear before," "to neglect to hear," "heard," "which . . . heard," "to be heard," "to cause to be heard," "to let . . . be heard," "to make to be heard," "hearer" (under which is included "hearers"), "hearing," "to be dull of hearing," and "place of hearing." Cruden also arranges most arbitrarily: "hear," "hear me," "hear not or not hear," "would not hear," "hear now or now hear," "shall hear," "will hear," "hear the word of the Lord," "heard," "I have heard," etc. Of course we understand the plan of Dr. Young in following the words of the original; but to the English reader it is very puzzling. For example, we wish to find the passage, "Restore that which he took violently away" (Lev. vi, 4). We refer to "took" in Dr. Young's Concordance and find only one reference, with nothing to indicate that the word occurs more than once in the Bible. We bethink ourselves of "take," and in its eighty-third division we find our wished-for reference. We have meantime gone over the Old and New Testaments, and found the words "take," "taken," "takest," "taketh," and "took." We see, however, that there are fifty-seven more divisions, and comfort ourselves that our reference was not postponed to the one hundred and fortieth.

II. *The Comparative Concordance.* This is a very helpful portion of the work, showing as it does the various readings of the Authorized and Revised Versions. Thus, if one is reading 2 Cor. x, 1, and wishes to know whether the Revised Version has, in this verse, another rendering for the word "base," he consults the Main Concordance and finds that the quotation is followed by an asterisk (*), signifying that there is a difference. Turning to the Comparative Concordance, he sees that the Revised Version has "lowly." Or, if reading in the Revised Version, "I made supplication for thee" (Luke xxii, 32), he finds by reference to the Comparative Concordance that the Authorized uses "have prayed."

III. Next follow concise dictionaries of the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament. These dictionaries are made invaluable by having a number attached to each Hebrew and Greek word, which number will be found in the Concordance opposite its corresponding English word, in Roman type if for a Hebrew word, and in italic if for a Greek word. To those familiar with Hebrew and Greek the dictionaries are of great service; but they may also be used by those who are familiar with the English alone. Thus if one refers to "strive" in Exod. xxi, 22, he will find the number

"5,327." Turning to this number in the Hebrew Dictionary, he learns that the verb translated "strive" means *to go forth*, *to be expelled*, and has the derivative meaning of *to quarrel*. The Hebrew Dictionary contains 8,674 words, and the Greek Dictionary 5,624. Following the Hebrew Dictionary is a valuable table showing the places where the Hebrew and English Bibles differ in the division of chapter and verse.

Having considered the several portions of the work, let us summarize the method of using it. Suppose that one wishes to find the location in Scripture of the passage, "Let them be ashamed and confounded together that seek after my soul to destroy it." The Main Concordance, under the word "ashamed," shows the place to be Psalm xl, 14. After the quotation he sees a double obelisk (‡), indicating that the American revisers recommended a different rendering. Turning to the Comparative Concordance, that rendering is found to be "put to shame." Had there been a single obelisk (†) it would have indicated a change of rendering agreed to by the English revisers alone. An asterisk (*) would also show a change of rendering, but one agreed to by all the revisers. The number "954," in Roman type, following the quotation, refers to the Hebrew Dictionary, under which number the reader is told that the Hebrew word translated "ashamed" is בּוּשׁ, *boosh*—properly, *to pale;* by implication, *to be ashamed;* also, *to be disappointed* or *delayed*, etc. Surely a work which places in one's hand so much information and makes it so accessible will be highly appreciated. One need have little of the prophetic gift to venture the prediction that this volume will speedily take the place of all other large concordances in the studies of well-informed men. Its history abounds in romantic elements. It is a history of mental and mechanical labor extending over thirty years. Very pleasant is it to recall those employed at various times in its construction; the slowly growing manuscript, gradually assuming remarkable proportions; the many suggested arrangements of the materials accumulated; the additional features constantly presenting themselves to the mind of the author; and to view at last the accomplished work which rewards his magnificent scholarship. But greater than all was the author himself, patient in labor, genial to his colaborers, apt in anticipating the needs of those requiring such a work, sanguine of its ultimate success, and possessed of faith in the appreciation of the public. For all this the world is now the richer. The lamented author, in this magnificent achievement, has left us a final proof of his long-recognized ability and scholarship. We congratulate those who shall become the happy possessors of the book. We congratulate the publishers upon the opportunity of placing their imprint on its title-page, and upon the typographical excellence of the volume.

Systematic Theology. By JOHN MILEY, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N.J. Vol. II, 8vo, pp. 537. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $3.

Methodism may well be thankful that, in the ripeness of his years and with powers unimpaired, Professor Miley has been spared to put into permanent form for the use of the Church his exposition of the victorious

Wesleyan-Arminian belief. For a generation the Church has been looking for a modern restatement of its teaching, and has eagerly scanned each new writing in the hope that it might fill the waiting place. Professor Miley's work in the first volume seemed so satisfactory that, almost before the ink was dry, it was placed upon the Conference Course of Study for Methodist preachers. And the second volume has enjoyed the unique compliment of being anticipatively placed upon the same list two years before it was published. That this action commends itself to the Church is an indication of the esteem in which the writer is held.

An indication of the modernness of the author's outlook meets us on the very threshold in the reality with which he strives to present the human nature of Christ. There is great significance in the way in which studies in the consciousness of Jesus are coming to displace the former abstract and far-away discussions of the God-man nature. The mysteries of this latter phenomenon are profound, and may seem well-nigh inexplicable. But there is a promise of some measure of success to every intelligent, sympathetic man who shall try to realize how the progressive manifestation of the divine in Jesus seemed to himself. Such studies are inspiring and practical; and here Professor Miley's work is excellent. His chapter on "The Sympathy of Christ," which is really the efflorescence of his Christological discussion, is exceedingly real, timely, and valuable. It is comparatively new ground. Little of worth has been written concerning it. The subject is in need of much further development, not along the lines of the older sentimentality, nor of the later loose conceptions of a vague pity in the heart of Jesus, but in the direction of a clearer realization of the consciousness of the ultimate suffering God, who cannot rest while his creatures sin and suffer. Professor Miley has done a vast amount of careful and discriminating thinking upon this point, and his results are stimulating and suggestive.

His now standard work on *The Atonement in Christ* is, of course, substantially incorporated in the present volume. A recent visit to a certain Calvinistic theological seminary disclosed the fact that most of the students owned a copy of that work, which they were quietly coming to regard as indispensable. There has been a feeling that Calvinism was necessarily harsh because based upon justice, and that Arminianism was somewhat unsafe because based upon an overestimate of God's love and mercy. Professor Miley's work does much to establish the reverse, and to prove that justice is the chief claim and ground of Arminian teaching. His presentation of the governmental theory of the atonement includes all that is valuable in the moral influence theory, and excludes the monstrous assumptions and inconsistencies of the satisfaction theory. And yet it does leave us with the wish that it had a little more weight and content. We are aware of the danger of this wish. Such an instinct in the past has driven thinkers to the "satisfaction" and "commercial" theories. And we suspect that the remedy will come in connection with the psychological tendencies of our day; that sin will come to be regarded less forensically and more pathologically; and that the "at-one-ment"

with God will be very little considered in its formal bearings, but rather as the restoration of the original outworking through man of the indwelling God. Meanwhile, so far as facing the older controversies goes, Miley's governmental theory is satisfactory and final.

And now, looking to a reception of the benefit of the atonement by the individual, the author follows with a really great chapter on man's "Freedom of Choice." The preliminary discussion of the will, in the main, follows Whedon, as does also the excellent discussion of motives (those external or internal forces or considerations moving the will to a choice) and of the ruling motive—the strongest of the single motives or their resultant. The great difficulty has always been to ascribe to the will the creative power of acting above and contrary to motive, without, on the other hand, emptying it of significance until it becomes the operation of a mere freakish fiat. It is at this point that Professor Miley makes a strong and inspiring picture of the intrinsic manhood, rational and godlike, rising up to assert itself; liable, indeed, to the weakness of proving inadequate to cope with adverse motives, and yet originally designed to be true to itself in the face of all motives and helped under grace to be again thus victoriously true. It is, after all, the cold paring down of the soul to purely formal elements for convenience of discussion that has given the hopeless aspect to discussions of the will. But the conception of the vital, energizing soul, of a nature instinct with active, penetrative force, sweeps away such imaginary helplessness, as a living person will often step in among discouraging impossibilities and with a smile and a stroke banish them all. This is the reason why, when philosophers have denied responsibility and freedom, the unlearned have always known that they could do right if they would, and have felt self-condemned when they did wrong. This is why Arminianism has always commended itself to the common people and to the unprejudiced. Purely formal thinkers and system-makers are apt to overlook the fact that the living soul will act vitally, and that the universal instinct of ideality is simply an irrepressible striving after a choice of the intrinsically highest and best. There is hope and help in this chapter of Professor Miley's. And, in this connection, it is an encouraging sign of our time to note that one of our profoundest thinkers, Professor Ormond, of Princeton University, has just published a volume, *Basal Concepts in Philosophy*, with the professed aim of introducing a greater consideration of vital energy as an element of philosophic thought. He would regard the soul, not as a dead subject lying upon the dissecting table, but rather as a trained athlete stripped for the contest.

The same instinct for reality is manifest in the discussion of justification. The purely forensic has little charm for this theologian of ours. In his treatment of sanctification he seems to see how much has been done by unwise discussion and profession to bring a great and needed teaching into disrepute. He gives great consideration to modern phases of the preaching of this doctrine; but he wisely discredits the "second-blessing" theory as degrading the conception of the new birth in order to pave the

way for the magnifying of other experience. That the new birth may fail of its full achievement he concedes, and the experience of a second blessing he regards as possible and frequent; but he declines to regard this as the normal expectation, and does not interpret Mr. Wesley as exclusively maintaining it. In the discussion of baptism we are glad to note the emphasis on infant baptism and Church membership as rights of Christian childhood. The discussion of the intermediate state is rather odd. The author says: "We find no clear light upon this subject in the Old Testament. . . . Even in the eschatology of the New Testament we find nothing decisive on this question. . . . In the earlier history of the Church the doctrine of an intermediate place was widely held. . . . But the Churches of the Reformation rejected it." And then, leaving the question open, he goes on through a whole chapter to describe what, if an intermediate state exists at all, it is and what it is not. We suspect that a little healthy agnosticism on some points which the older theologians were so sure of has been no bad thing in the development of Methodist doctrine. The premillennial coming of Christ finds in Dr. Miley no countenance. It never has been a Methodist doctrine. His statements ought to be a healthy antidote to the feverish and unhealthy motives to missionary and evangelistic activity that are just now being so vigorously emphasized in some quarters. Methodists believe in the sufficiency of the ministry and power of the Holy Ghost. While accepting the recorded view of future punishment, the author says that the Scriptures are the only sufficient source of our knowledge of its duration, and that this knowledge mainly hangs upon the significance of *αἰών* and its derivatives. We think we see signs of a less emphatic use of the word "future punishment" and of an increasing use of the expression "future condition," as corresponding to the needs of modern orthodox belief. The discussion of the inspiration of the Scriptures in the Appendix is unsatisfactory. It gives the conventional theories, and is sufficiently reasonable in its remarks upon them. But it does not touch with any living connection the questions that are seething and burning in the minds of our younger scholars and thinkers. Probably Professor Miley feels that these questions are far from being settled, and that in their present crude condition it is not best to enter upon a discussion which he cannot hope to finish. Certainly none who know him will imagine that he would wish to withhold his brethren from the most searching investigation of these matters. But we feel that with characteristic modesty he has underestimated the value to the Church of a statement from his pen looking away from the past and into the future. It would have heartened many a worried soul.

Professor Miley's style is always real. It means something to both reader and writer. Occasionally he will half state a truth and leave one in suspense while he restates it from another standpoint. But he is never vague nor double in his use of terms. His analysis is wonderfully minute, and his table of contents a great help in grasping and remembering the book, though occasionally he seems to overanalyze. We said at the outset that the merits of his *Systematic Theology* has been largely taken for granted

in advance. There is a significance in this. The first volume, valuable as it was, has excited but little discussion. This means that Arminian theology, while practically victorious everywhere, is not now facing living issues as it once did. It is impossible to read Watson without feeling that he is in the thick of the fray. The reader of Miley must call up from his knowledge of history the foes that are there controverted. He has never seen them; they are dumb, or dead. His work is good, great, true, and contains that which will enable us to wage war and win victories--but not in the old way. It is historic, not prophetic. The foe is not now the grim, iron, Calvinistic faith; it is the no-faith of a busy, concrete world. The men and problems that our faith must master are not in books; they are in the spirit of the time. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together again in the birth of the new era. It is in the shop, the mine, the field, the corporation chamber, the *salon*, the slum, the college, in agitators' assemblies, and in dramshops that we have now to conquer. The old formation must break up and array itself against the foes of to-day. We have the truth. We are hampered by no crippling errors. And in the more human presentation of the Son of man, who was also the Son of God, and in the more ethical applications of his teaching to the needs of to-day, we shall seek the answer to our prayer—"Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." Its test will be the words of John: "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" Not until this re-formation shall have passed into history are we likely to have another great restatement of our faith, and never one more manly and straightforward. May we be as true to the calling of our day as the record of Professor Miley shows our fathers to have been to theirs!

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Social Evolution. By BENJAMIN KIDD. 8vo, pp. 348. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

It is not difficult to understand why this powerful book, by a new author, has achieved a prompt success, commanding general and respectful attention. It opens thus: "To the thoughtful mind the outlook at the close of the nineteenth century is profoundly interesting. History can furnish us no parallel to it. The problems which loom across the threshold of the new century surpass in magnitude any that civilization has hitherto had to encounter. We seem to have reached a time in which there is abroad in men's minds an instinctive feeling that a definite stage in the evolution of Western civilization is drawing to a close, and that we are entering on a new era." The book concerns itself, in a serious, dignified, and able manner, with some of these looming problems. Asserting that there is as yet no science of human society, properly so called, and that the larger part of the present century's work in sociology has been merely destructive, it proceeds to grapple in a vigorous and suffi-

ciently original way with unsolved problems; and by a constructive argument, fitly framed together from a broad and intelligent study of the facts of the social situation and of the literature of the subject, it presents clearly and forcibly the author's conclusions. It has assumptions and assertions with which many readers will disagree. We do not believe that man as a social creature is more important than man as an individual—quite the reverse. Social evolution is best promoted by a just recognition and development of the individual. Mr. Kidd criticises sharply such authorities as Huxley and Spencer. Of the former he says that the result of his writing on social questions is to send his readers on their way with, for guiding principle, no particular faith or hope in anything. As to the latter, he regrets that Mr. Spencer did not wait till he knew more and had matured his thinking before beginning to write the *Synthetic Philosophy;* he should have postponed it until "his intellect had an opportunity of realizing the full transforming effect, in the higher regions of thought, and more particularly in the department of sociology, of that development of biological science which began with Darwin, which is still in full progress, and to which Professor Weismann has recently made the most notable contributions." This charge of immaturity and haste which the author makes against Herbert Spencer's *magnum opus* is quickly visited upon his own head by a Scotch reviewer, who says, "Mr. Kidd's book, admirable alike in its materials and in its motives, is apparently one more instance of rapid and premature crystallization—crystallization around a tempting paradox." The author quotes Professor Huxley as saying that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the greater part of the human family, a kindly comet that should destroy the earth's inhabitants would be a desirable visitor. He quotes Henry George: "It is my deliberate opinion that if, standing on the threshold of being, one were given the choice of entering life as a Terra del Fuegan, a Black Fellow of Australia, an Esquimau in the Arctic Circle, or among the lowest classes in such a highly civilized country as Great Britain, he would make infinitely the better choice in selecting the lot of the savage." The chapter headings afford an idea of the line of thought: "The Outlook;" "Conditions of Human Progress;" "There is no Rational Sanction for the Conditions of Progress;" "The Central Feature of Human History;" "The Function of Religious Beliefs in the Evolution of Society;" "Western Civilization;" "Modern Socialism;" "Human Evolution is not Primarily Intellectual." The author has been taken to task for implying that religion is antirational, or opposed to the conclusions of reason. We do not so understand him. His main point is that the human reason alone cannot present any authority or sanction sufficient to control human conduct in a way to solve the painful and perplexing social problem. Society can never approximate the ideal or the necessary social condition except by the impulse and guidance of religion, which alone brings motives, influences, principles, and sanctions sufficient for the tremendous task. Mr. Kidd concludes thus: "The fact of our time which overshadows all others is the arrival of democracy. But

the perception of the fact is of relatively little importance if we do not also understand that it is a new democracy. There are many who speak of the new ruler of nations as if he were the same idle *demos* whose ears the dishonest courtiers have tickled from time immemorial. It is not so. Even those who attempt to lead him do not yet quite understand him. Those who think that he is about to bring chaos instead of order do not rightly apprehend the nature of his strength. They do not perceive that his arrival is the crowning result of an ethical movement, in which qualities and attributes which we have all been taught to regard as the very highest of which human nature is capable find the completest expression they have ever reached in the history of the race."

Substance and Shadow; or, The Real and Unreal. By JOHN C. HOLMES, M.D. With an Introduction by WINFIELD S. MCCOWAN, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 255. New York: Printed for the author by Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Here is an unexpected volume from the pen of a busy physician. While the medical profession, "from Hippocrates and Galen to Oliver Wendell Holmes," are not altogether strangers to the world of letters, yet for the most part their lives are too crowded with action and consecration to the demands of human life in jeopardy to permit their general enlistment in the ranks of authorship. That the present writer has had the inclination to traverse ground without the bounds of medical literature and has found opportunity to publish his present volume is, therefore, no small credit to his industry. The book that he edits consists of a series of brief papers on a great variety of subjects, which have no vital connecting link, but which are here grouped in a common association. The title, "Substance and Shadow," which is attached to the first essay, gives name to the volume, the thought of the writer being that shadow always suggests a substance, or that things seen argue for the invisible, the divine, the eternal. The whole book is a record, too seldom opened to the public view, of a physician's meditations on the great subjects of existence, manhood, death, spiritism, immortality, written by one in too close touch with the great problems of existence and destiny to be aught but reflective and serious. An extract at random from the author's table of contents shows that his twenty-seven chapters include such miscellaneous topics as "The Land of the Veda and Christian America," "Choosing an Occupation," "The Walk an Index of Character," "Creation of the Earth as Described by Pagan Writers," "The Intermediate State." In general the essays show the long exercise of those trained powers of observation which mark the skilled physician and make him a leader among men. It might be possible to offer criticism upon the structure of some of the papers; and it would certainly be appropriate to protest against the insertion of dissecting-room, deathbed, and ghost stories in a volume for general reading, did not the moral sought justify the writing of such grewsome tales. The book, in a word, is a tribute to the scholarship and intellectual force of Dr. Holmes. It is discursive, inquiring, philosophical, and, best of all, is a reverent acknowledgment

of man's spiritual nature and of the reality of that invisible realm whither the pilgrimage of life clearly tends.

The Credentials of Science the Warrant of Faith. By JOSIAH PARSONS COOKE, LL.D., Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 325. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

Lord Bacon wrote, "Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested." Professor Cooke's volume belongs to the third of these classes. Its theme is for a lifetime, and its argument is one to be studied and restudied without end. It is a great book, more weighty, conclusive, and convincing than *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, and a worthy mate for that notable piece of suggestive reasoning, *The Unseen Universe*. This second edition was urgently needed, for the first was so nearly out of market that there was difficulty in finding a copy. It is a contribution of permanent value to the thought of the world. In it an eminent scientist declares and shows that from a scientific standpoint it is clear that the premises of theology are as solid and its conclusions as valid as those of physical science. The book is well described in the author's Preface: "The motive of the work is indicated by the title, the chief argument being that the popular objections to Christian beliefs might be urged with equal force against each of the predominant systems of science of the present day, and are the necessary result of the limitations of our human knowledge; that, so far from proving the inconsequence of our religious beliefs, the oppositions so greatly magnified plainly point to a condition in which the limitations that now narrow our vision will be removed. In following out this argument the author has discussed the basis of scientific systems; the modes of thought distinguished as induction and deduction, by which general principles have been apprehended and their scope constantly widened; the significance of the so-called laws of nature; the validity of the prevailing theories or systems of science; and the predominant principles of scientific thought." If any busy man has time for only one chapter of the book, let him read the last of the ten, "The Systems Compared—Religion and Science." We wish we could present a copy to every skeptic who takes the trouble to examine and think. We wish there were some authority to command the book into every parsonage in the land. It is full of weapons and ammunition for the pulpit and the lecture room. Whoever of the Lord's sharpshooters cares to fill his cartridge belt with forty rounds against foes of the faith, let him resort hither and he will be able to load and fire with telling effect.

Outline Study of Law. By ISAAC FRANKLIN RUSSELL, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor in the University of the City of New York. 8vo, pp. 280. New York: L. K. Strouse & Co. Price, sheep, $2.

The ignorance of the general public as to the nature and scope of the civil law is deplorable. Like the other professions, jurisprudence is a shut and barred door through which the multitude never enter with their careless feet. Because this indifference is, however, neither necessary nor

advantageous, the publication of such elementary treatises as that now under consideration should go far to rectify the misconceptions of the law which ordinarily exist. Some of these misconceptions, as pointed out by Professor Russell in his introductory lecture, are that the law "is an expression of ultimate right; that it has its origin in a legislative enactment; that it can be enforced in a community, notwithstanding public sentiment may be against it; that it can create capital, fix the rate of wages, limit the hours of toil, and suspend the operation of the law of supply and demand; that it is the antecedent and cause of public opinion, instead of being the last thing to yield to the pressure of advancing civilization." To rectify these misjudgments, to define the true nature of law, and to present a generally attractive outline of the study of jurisprudence for the uninstructed is the purpose of the present volume. Its defects must be left to the specialist to point out. Of its commendable qualities, its comprehensiveness is not the least conspicuous. Defining at the outset the nature of law in general, it sweeps the field of Roman, feudal, and modern law, considers the irregularities arising from national, social, and commercial relations, discusses the law of evidence and the jurisdiction of courts, and closes with a lecture on "Crimes and their Punishment." Though intended only as an "outline," it is an outline that apparently omits only the unimportant. What is said, moreover, has the quality of clearness. Neither its definitions nor enlargements are couched in that technical phraseology which is the despair of the everyday man; but, relieved of abstrusities, they are clothed in language sufficiently lucid for the ordinary reader. By illustration and reference also to pertinent cases upon the records of the courts the author makes his teaching clear. Dr. Russell has done a difficult service well. While he cannot hope to make trained lawyers of all the nonmatriculants who heard his lectures or of all the readers who may chance upon his book, he has certainly found the way in which to set forth technical and abstract truth attractively before the unthinking. From a layman's standpoint the book has a mission to accomplish in the world.

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HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY

Epochs of Indian History. Edited by JOHN ADAM, M.A. Vol. I: *Ancient India—2000 B. C.—800 A.D.* By ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E., I.C.S., author of *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, etc. Vol. II: *The Muhammadans—1001-1761 A. D.* By J. D. REES, C.I.E., I.C.S., author of *Tours in India, H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence in Southern India*, etc. Small 16mo, pp. 196, 192. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, each $1.

The most romantic episode in Alexander the Great's career was his invasion of a portion of India. From his time down to the present day she has exercised a decided influence on the imagination and the destinies of the civilized world. The historian Robertson devoted a volume to a discussion of the commercial relations existing in ancient times between her and the nations of the West. Marco Polo was not the only traveler who pene-

trated to her territories and brought back wonderful tales of strange customs and strange peoples. It was her commerce which enriched the Italian maritime republics in the Middle Ages; and it was the destruction of the old routes formerly followed by that commerce—which was brought about by the progress of Turkish conquest—which led the Portuguese to essay the circumnavigation of Africa and to trace a sea route to the shores of India, and Columbus to still further change the world's history by his discovery of our continent, whose inhabitants he called Indians. Yet the average intelligent man has but a confused conception of India's geography and the vaguest of ideas concerning her institutions, her history, and her industrial and sociological development. To him it is chiefly known as a land of sharply defined contrasts: of cultivated classes and miserably degraded masses; of beautiful temples and wretched homes; of densely compacted populations and vast wildernesses of savage jungle. Histories of India have been written, but are not widely known or easily accessible. The appearance of these volumes, therefore, is opportune. In his Preface the editor says: "To write a history of India on the scale of a Freeman, or even of a Macaulay, would, from the multiplicity and diversity of detail, be a task of superhuman magnitude. The story of India during the past four thousand years is the story, not of one country, but of many countries, not of one nation, but of many nations, told not in one language, but in many languages, and influenced in turn by the greatest religions of the world. In consequence we find the best historical work in the Indian field is bestowed upon special periods or particular areas." He further says: "While it is hoped that the political history of the various epochs will be found sufficient for the student and in accordance with the latest results of research, the first aim of the writers will be to give a history of the Indian people, to follow the varied development of institutions and constitutions, to mark the growth and decay of literature and science, to watch the constant flux of law and religion." The first volume opens with the prehistoric invasion of India by the Aryan Hindoos. For a period of some six hundred years they were occupied in conquering the Punjab from the "dark-skinned aborigines," who stubbornly contested every portion of their land. From the Indus Hindoo colonies spread over the Ganges valley and founded States, which developed a civilization "far in advance of that of their sturdy forefathers of the Punjab." From the north the Hindoos began to overrun, about the year B. C. 1000, the Deccan and southern India. But in northern India "the Aryan races had penetrated in vast numbers into the Punjab and the Gangetic valley, and had all but exterminated or expelled the children of the soil, who were utter barbarians; and the population of northern India therefore is, to the present day, more or less of pure Aryan stock." On the other hand, the Hindoo colonists among the vast aboriginal populations of the Deccan and the South were satisfied "with introducing Hindoo civilization, language, and religion; and to this day the majority of the population of southern and eastern India are of non-Aryan stock, who have adopted the higher civilization, literature, and religion of their Aryan

Hindoo conquerors and teachers." The author describes how the various tribes of northern India were eventually brought under one rule soon after Alexander's retreat; and how all India was united under the sway of the emperors of Magadha and later rulers. A large portion of the book is devoted to the matters mentioned above in the second quotation from the editor's Preface. A period of two centuries, during which Indian history is a blank, separates the first and second volumes of the series. The latter traces the various Mohammedan dynasties down to the period of British occupation. Three other volumes—*The Mahrattas*, *The Dravidians*, and *The British Power in India*—are in preparation and will complete the series. We recommend it to those who desire to understand the past, and therefore better understand the present, of our greatest mission field. They will find here in concise form and in volumes not too formidable much that will explain the present condition of the Indian people. In view of the complications now existing in Korea it would be well if similar volumes, by competent scholars proficient in the native literatures, could be issued regarding the history of the mysterious nations of the extreme Orient.

Life of St. Francis of Assisi. By PAUL SABATIER. Translated by LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON. 8vo, pp. 448. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The nature of true sainthood is suggested to the reader as he turns the pages of this exceptional biography. While Francis of Assisi is technically called a "saint" by the decree of the Roman Catholic Church, we cannot feel that his rank in the true body of Christ turns on the official act of pope or other hierarch. Character is the true mark of sainthood. In the Baptist and the Reformed Churches, in Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, and every other denomination of the long list are those who have received substantial canonization. But none the less because Francis was of the Romish faith is his biography instructive. The son of a wealthy cloth merchant, Pietro Bernardone, he was born about 1182, when the troubadours sang their songs and the habits of chivalry were on men. For the many incidents that made up his life, both in his secular career and after his entrance upon the monastic order, the reader must consult the volume itself. The youth of Francis, with its pursuit of pleasure and its dreams of military exploit; the grievous sickness which brought him to repentance; his renunciation of the world in spite of that bitter opposition of Bernardone which haled him before consuls and the bishop; his rise to leadership; the gradual development of his religious order; his self-sacrifices and poverty; the impression on his body of the stigmata of the Crucified; his last days, so full of "radiant beauty" that Thomas of Celano says he "went to meet death singing," are some of the prominent features in the career of this founder of the Franciscan order which, after nearly seven centuries, are again recalled. The story has an emphatically mediæval flavor. The habits of Italian life which prevailed, the degradation into which the Church had fallen, the emphasis upon the value of monastic orders and monkish vows are mat-

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ters which the intelligent student of Church history will estimate by the standards of the thirteenth century, rather than of the nineteenth. The great price paid for sainthood by St. Francis—the renunciation of patrimony, the sacrifice of friendships, and monastic poverty—suggests that he who would attain true sainthood must make all sacrifices, and that for the Christian who reckons sainthood as the chief prize sacrifices of every sort are dross. The biography is the story of one of the foremost churchmen of his times, and is not only intrinsically valuable but is besides of importance as a link in the great chain of ecclesiastical history. Certain localisms or phrases vividly remind us that the scene is laid on foreign soil and that the book is a translation. Yet for fullness of detail, for the supplemental study of the historic records consulted, and for general superiority of authorship this life of St. Francis merits a prominent place in the lists of mediæval biography. Though the pope is said to have put his ban upon the publication, because the author is a Protestant, we must respectfully differ in judgment with his holiness, Leo XIII.

Studies in Oriental Social Life, and Gleams from the East on the Sacred Page. By H. Clay Trumbull, Author of *Kadesh-Barnea*, etc. 8vo, pp. 437. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Probably the value of oriental study has never been more generally recognized by biblical scholars than at the present. The changelessness of the East through the long centuries affords, in the order of divine providence, an overwhelming confirmation of the Scripture record; and in the modern Palestine the student finds a close photograph of that other Palestine which Abraham, Isaiah, and Jesus trod. This truth, although so familiar as to be a truism, is most effectively stated by Mr. Trumbull in his introductory chapter as follows: "The prime advantage of a study of oriental social life is that the past is there found reproduced in the present as reflecting the ancient history of our race. . . . There, that which is, is that which has been; and that which is and has been in the cradle-place of humanity is that which has put its impress upon humanity everywhere. The study of the oriental present is, in fact, a study of the universal past, and therefore it is a study for all and for always." With such a view of the relation existing between modern and ancient orientalism Mr. Trumbull has added a valuable volume to the increasing records of Egyptian archæologists, Palestine geographers, and Christian students delving in Eastern lands. Some of his chapters cover such matters of social custom as betrothals, weddings, hospitality, funerals, and mourning. In his chapter on "Food in the Desert" he discusses the support of the Israelites on their journey through the wilderness. The symbolism of the pilgrimage idea he finds to be the "consciousness of being absent from the Father's home while yet present in the body." A charming meditation on the person of Jesus and his gift of satisfying water to man is contained in "An Outlook from Jacob's Well;" and in a description of "The Samaritan Passover," as witnessed by him, he finds the ancient rite a shadow of the greater sacrifice to come. His volume

as a whole the author claims to be more than a narrative of personal observation or a miscellaneous gathering of oriental illustrations of Scripture truth; it is rather "a classified treatment of certain phases of oriental life and methods of thought, vivified by personal experiences in the East; and herein it has a distinctive character." To this feature must be added the further consideration of charm of print and beauty of illustration, which make the book more than ordinarily attractive. For the devout inquirer after the significance of Palestine life the volume must quicken faith and promote desire for further investigation.

Benjamin Griffith. Biographical Sketches Contributed by Friends. Edited by CHARLES H. BANES, A.M. 12mo, pp. 296. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

The leading facts in the life of Dr. Griffith may be easily stated. Born among the Pennsylvania mountains, on the Juniata River, in 1821, he was educated at Madison (now Colgate) University, began his pastorate in the Baptist Church in 1847, entered upon the secretaryship of the American Baptist Publication Society in 1857, and continued in this important service until his recent decease. These items are, however, a meager setting forth of a consecrated, useful, and honored career, whose influence has permeated the entire Baptist Church within the last third of a century. The secret of his success is one of the lessons of this biography. He was not, it is declared, "a genius," yet he was "a man among men, far-sighted, forceful, clear and decided in his convictions, courageous but calm in his expressions. From the moment he assumed the responsibility for an undertaking it entered into and became a part of his life. His purpose was intensified by his best thought and led him to develop and broaden the duty intrusted to him by every proper means at his command." His long and intimate relation to the literature of his Church; his interest in Sunday school work, the Baptist Young People's Union, and orphanage work at Philadelphia; and his sympathy for other benevolent and Christian labor are features in his ended life which are recalled in these biographical papers. His unpretending but hearty biography should come as an inspiration to the young manhood of his denomination and of other creeds.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The First Words from God; or, Truths Made Known in the First Two Chapters of His Holy Word. Also the Harmonizing of the Records of the Resurrection Morning. By FRANCIS W. UPHAM, LL.D., Author of *The Church and Science*, etc. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

Out of the past comes the present, and only a knowledge of the beginning can explain the mysterious future. In this belief Dr. Upham has devoted the first part of his volume to that familiar yet inexhaustible task, the study of the creative days. Reverently accepting the existence of the great First Cause, and the further fact that all organization and life have proceeded from God, he seeks as a Christian scholar to discover the wonders of Scripture cosmology. His method is at once patient,

detailed, and original. Though we have not opportunity to cite the conclusions which he deduces from his investigation of the Hebraic records and his voluminous study of Christian and scientific literature, it is enough to call the attention of the reader to this latest comment on the creative story of Genesis for his leisurely perusal. As to the harmonizing of the four records of the resurrection morning, Dr. Upham has attempted an epitome of the method followed by the late William Sewell, D.D., from 1836 to 1841 professor of moral philosophy at Oxford. That the gospels differ in their narratives of the resurrection is conceded, the fact being that "on Easter morning, at different times, four companies of women visited the holy sepulcher." "Each evangelist," says Dr. Upham, "tells of a visit of which the others say nothing; yet 'in each gospel there are indications that the writer, while giving his own account of what occurred to his own party, had a thorough acquaintance with the fact that there were other visits besides the one which he related.'" The method of proof followed by Dr. Sewell is based upon a microscopic study of the meanings of Greek words, which are commonly translated in the same way, and for the republication of this form of proof the Christian world owes Dr. Upham its sincere gratitude. His book, in a word, is valuable because it is not cheap, narrow, or small. As one who feels the dignity of noble thinking the author moves along the plane of lofty discussion where the horizon is wide and the sunlight bright overhead.

The Friendship of Nature. A New England Chronicle of Birds and Flowers. By MABEL OSGOOD WRIGHT. 24mo, pp. 238. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The writer of this booklet has lived close to the great heart of nature. As we read her words we in turn feel the spell that is upon her spirit. The song of the thrush, the oriole, and the bobolink; the blooming of the larkspur and the aster; the sweeping of the south wind over the mignonette; the weaving of autumn's loom; and the white snows of winter are among the myriad sights and sounds of nature which she interprets and to whose interpretation all hearts give cordial assent. To follow her detailed study of the seasons is not possible. We cannot, however, forego the mention of the hopeful significance which the winter has for her. "Age and winter," as goes her moralizing, "should take for their sign the witch hazel, the flower of unconquered hope. There is no winter or age for the heart that feels nature's throbbings and crowns the earth's beauty with human brotherhood." And then follows a charming and hitherto unpublished letter from him who has found no winter in old age, the perennially vigorous and fruitful Dr. Holmes: "It is a mixed kind of feeling with which one reaches the top of this Pisgah and peeps over into the mists that hover over Jordan. I felt as if Bryant was old and out of sight on his seventieth birthday, but now—bless me! why, what did the psalmist mean with his 'threescore years and ten?' . . . The horizon flies as we travel westward, the sun goes back as it did for Joshua. At fifty years seventy seems like sunset. At seventy we find it is as yet only cheerful, shining afternoon. Nature has more artifices than all the human conjurers that ever lived."

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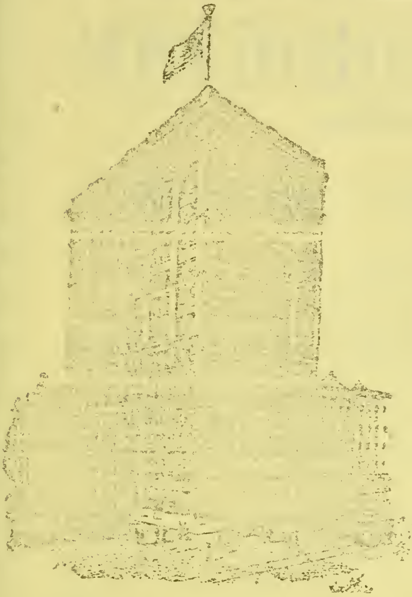

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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Joseph Cummings

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1894.

Art. I.—JOSEPH CUMMINGS.

"Has my record been a good one? It will be accepted, will it not?" These sentences came from the lips of Joseph Cummings the last evening before he went away from the earth. We think a generally affirmative response to these questions comes from the earth and from the skies.

If any former student under President Cummings or any parishioner or any reader expects the writer of this article to dissect his character or balance against each other his defects and virtues they may give over the reading, for they will be disappointed. Such proceeding is neither justifiable nor honestly instructive until the generations in which the subject lived have passed away. Prejudices and judgments of the living are frequently based upon pure selfishness, and ought to have little weight with us in making up our estimate of the work of a worker whose labor is ended. The character and the results of the work of men ought to determine our judgment and the measure of our praise. The human obstacles overcome frequently constitute the real index of merit.

Joseph Cummings was born March 3, 1817, at Falmouth, Me., a commonwealth which has furnished the Church and the State with many spiritual and intellectual giants. His heredity was good in blood, in brain, in grace. Graduating with honor from Wesleyan University in 1840, at twenty-three years of age, he immediately took a professor's chair. On August 15, 1842, a very important event took place in his life, as on that date he was married to Miss Deborah S. Haskell, a woman of varied

accomplishments and possessing singular fitness for supplementing his work both as pastor and educator. Every student of Wesleyan and of the Northwestern remembers Mrs. Cummings with reverence and affection. She was a vital part of both the president and his work.

He did such thorough academic work in the years immediately succeeding his graduation that higher institutions soon demanded his services. When twenty-six years of age he was made the principal of a seminary. Passing from academic educational work, he filled with notable success four prominent pastorates. From the pastorate he went to a professor's chair in a theological seminary; then to a college presidency in Lima, N. Y., where the infant Syracuse University felt his inspiring and forming touch; and then to the presidency of his *alma mater*, seventeen years after his graduation.

He was president of Wesleyan University for eighteen years, a period of unprecedented length in the history of that college—a college that is conceded to compete in the East with older and better endowed institutions; a college which was the first established by our Church, having a long muster roll of alumni, and toward which naturally many critical and jealous eyes are always turned. He entered upon his work at Wesleyan in a formative period of the college history. He inherited little. He created, molded, and shaped much. Despite the civil war, more than decimating the several classes, despite repeated financial crises, with their "black Fridays," destroying endowments and fatally crippling the princely right arm of Daniel Drew, despite the diversion of the funds of the munificent Isaac Rich and other benefactors to the founding of another institution, nothing could daunt his splendid courage. Like Nehemiah in repairing the walls of Jerusalem, he had to ply the trowel with one hand and hold a sword in the other, while building the needed fortresses for Christian education, for God, and for the Church.

Resigning this presidency, he held in Wesleyan the professorship of mental philosophy and political economy for two years. He then returned to a pastoral charge he had served thirty years before, and also filled another appointment in Boston, when, in 1881, he was recalled to educational work, being elected to the presidency of the Northwestern University, where he spent the last decade of his remarkably useful career

of more than threescore years and ten. He was a delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1864, 1876, 1880, and 1884. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from his *alma mater;* Harvard University adopted him by the same honorary tie; and the degree of doctor of laws from the Northwestern University anticipated the honor and service he was destined to render that institution.

A clear, logical mind, excellent command of language, and intense conviction made him an attractive and convincing speaker and a notable preacher. The late Dr. John Johnston once said, in the presence of many witnesses, of one of Dr. Cummings's baccalaureates, that "it was equal to Dr. Olin at his best." His sermons were fully prepared, rich in thought, thoroughly practical and evangelical, and uttered with fire and force and dignity; and, as with all great preachers, many of the most memorable passages in them were forged in the furnace heat of delivery. His oratory was the expression of his nature. Slow to become aroused and gathering force as he proceeded, the climax in language and in thought, emphasized by a gesture peculiar to himself and which no man could imitate, produced conviction, ended controversy, and annihilated opposition. His quiver held some dangerous arrows not designed for promiscuous use—invective, irony, sarcasm, contempt. He used them effectively, but only in battling for the protection of innocence, the defense of right, and the destruction of wrong. His published literary works include sermons and addresses and an edition of Butler's *Analogy of Religion.* It is to be regretted that he wrote comparatively little for publication for the benefit of after generations.

Few men would have the courage, after an absence of twenty-five years, to return to the pastorate; and fewer yet would be able to succeed as he did and then to return to exacting educational work and achieve one of the greatest successes of his life. When he returned to the pastorate, under a presiding elder who had been one of his students at Wesleyan, some said, "That is stepping down, and we shall hear no more of him." But the typical college president made the pulpit his throne of power, and the younger men who followed him in pastoral charges had to quicken their pace to keep up with his record in searching out the people, in visiting the sick and the poor,

and in comforting the afflicted. In spiritual work he believed not only in sowing and waiting for a harvest, but in looking, through faith and obedience, for immediate results.

Higher educational interests are now largely in the hands of specialists, and college presidents are most frequently chosen for their business capacity. Capacity to lead men and thought is not always now the condition of choice for this high office, but prominence in some department of business or professional endeavor. The consensus of opinion concerning President Cummings among educators of his time is, we believe, that he has a royal right to a place among the small number of ideal college presidents possessing many gifts and well-rounded, massive characters. President Cummings belonged to the giant generation of college presidents in which were numbered Porter, of Yale, McCosh, of Princeton, Barnard, of Columbia, Wayland, of Brown, Hopkins, of Williams, and Anderson, of Rochester. President Warren, of Boston University, said of him:

> The banner-bearer of the higher education in our communion has been taken from us. In our own mourning Church no educational career stands out so strong, effective, and complete.

Dr. Charles W. Bennett, of the Northwestern University, spoke of him as an educator thus:

> Joseph Cummings's presence—this noble, this strong, this truth-loving, and this truth-doing man, with his woman's heart full of tenderness for the truly faithful but discouraged—was the most potent educating factor. . . . Methodism has lost its greatest college president.

He was more than a teacher, he was an educator. He assimilated knowledge and imparted it with great precision and with great perspicuity. His teaching was not confined to the class room; but by example, as well as precept, he constantly kept before the young men the essential dignity of man. He inculcated the heroism of perfect loyalty to convictions, and respect for the convictions of others. He recognized the normal and healthful college spirit which is based upon the relative dignity of classes in the order of their seniority. While he was kind to all, the freshman stood in awe of him, the sophomore respected him, the junior admired him, the senior revered him. His relation to students was practically personal. He had a peculiar, potent, and unique influence over their individual lives. He was sympathetic in their sicknesses, in their sorrows, in

their struggles with poverty. While stately and dignified in mien, his face radiated with the warm light from a kind and tender heart. He eagerly craved the confidence, the approbation, and the affection of his students, and to those worthy of his confidence he was father and friend. Studiousness and fidelity always commanded his cooperation and assistance. He hated the shirking spirit in the student, for he was a prodigious worker and master of details, both giving and requiring faithful service. Duty and industry constantly impelled him. While the best friend of students, he was very exacting concerning the performance of their duties.

The stamp of the massive personality of Joseph Cummings on the character of a student was a vital part of his essential education. This inexplicable, but potential, entity is the rare and divine endowment of the world's few real educators. Some teachers are paternal; others are wise; others have special gifts in a single line; others are self-assertive; others are military disciplinarians; others have power to communicate knowledge. Any one of these powers constitutes a rich capital for the teacher; but to possess, like this man, due measure of all of them, in subjection to a central sublime and symmetrical mastery, makes a teacher of teachers, an educator and a molder of men. A competent pen has recorded, "Few men in the history of American schools have so emulated the measure of the great Arnold of Rugby."

It was the grand boast of a Roman emperor that he found the eternal city brick and left it marble. Of Dr. Cummings it may be justly claimed that he found the college buildings at Middletown meager, inadequate, mean, the unambitious plant of an old abdicated military academy only, and crowned that classic hill on High Street with massive structures as noble and inspiring as can be found on the continent. In those eighteen years he reared a triple monument in imperishable old red sandstone—the Rich Library, the Orange Judd Hall of Natural Science, and the Memorial Chapel—that will stand as a proud reminder of his grandly successful administration so long as the river it overlooks shall flow to the sea. But if nothing material of this should remain, yet in the generations of youth he has inspired and molded, being dead, would he speak, and in their descendants would speak forever.

On June 29, 1881, soon after becoming president of the Northwestern University, he returned, with hundreds of others, to celebrate the semicentennial of his *alma mater*, whose name he had honored and for whose character he had done so much to make it worthy of respect. We gathered upon that natural eminence, crowned with palaces, beautiful with the adornments of art and architecture. The glad city of the living was below us, and the voiceless city of the dead above us, while half a century of pregnant history crowded upon us. The giant tracks made by some living creatures on once plastic rocks, in the uncounted periods of the past when the Creator was preparing the house for the child of civilization, were mocking our narrow measurements of time from their places in the walls of the building before us. Men of nearly every class from 1831 to 1881 were there. Men of achievement and men high in position in both Church and State were there. The men who had recently made princely gifts to the treasury of the university were there. But none of these furnished the central figure of the historic occasion.

At the conclusion of a brief tribute to the work of President Cummings, by the speaker who delivered the historic address, the great assemblage on the platform, in the windows of the college buildings, and under the trees on the campus burst forth with applause. Cheer followed cheer. Gray-haired men forgot their gravity and joined in the common acclaim; and, while joyous enthusiasm vented itself on every hand, many shed tears. At first the man who was the object of this admiring and affectionate ovation tried to hide himself behind the crowd upon the platform; but, as the applause swelled louder and louder, continuing for some minutes, he tremblingly arose and, with bared head, his majestic figure towering above his surroundings, stood before us uncrowned at the seat of his former empire, but regnant still.

Of Dr. Cummings's presidency of Wesleyan University President Warren, of Boston University, says: "In achievements, as truly as in length, this administration stands unapproached by any other in the whole history of the institution. More and more, as time moves on, do men see the significance of those years and the greatness of their successes." At the Northwestern University his work was fully as remarkable as

at Wesleyan. His long experience, backed up by eagerness and enthusiasm, recognized and provided for the needs of an institution attempting to educate eighteen hundred students. In addition to his duties as president he held the professorship of mental and moral philosophy. In the nine years of his presidency the university more than doubled the number of its students, a debt of $200,000 was paid, and three elegant buildings were added to the invoice of the property of the corporation. Wisely did Dr. Buckley write: "The corporation of the Northwestern University is, we think, to be congratulated on having had the wisdom to discern that Joseph Cummings, at sixty-four, might be worth more as president of that great institution than many a man of more sparkling qualities could have been at forty."

In 1887 he attained threescore years and ten, and the event was celebrated at Evanston by remarkable exercises, while substantial tokens of affection and gratitude poured into his home from East and West. An ample purse was presented to him, with the loving mandate that he leave his work and country for needed rest, as he had taken no vacation since he came to the Northwestern. He took a hasty run to Europe, but, to the disappointment of his best friends, was again home and at his work at the opening of the college year.

While at the head of different institutions of learning President Cummings never forgot that he was a citizen, and local, as well as state and national interests, were with him matters of study and furtherance. He was always popular among his fellow-citizens in every community where he resided. He was a patriot, and loved his country so well that he desired to see it freed from partnership with crime. He was on the side of freedom and emancipation in the midst of hostile and dangerous surroundings. When public sentiment needed patriotic stimulus, and cowardly Northern treason demanded rebuke and punishment, his voice was potent for liberty and union. We once saw him, in a crowded assembly, lash into writhing submission the copperheads who had saluted him with their disloyal reptile hissings. He made scores of war speeches, urged to enlistment, and presented banners to departing regiments. He buried dead heroes and comforted widows and orphans. He made it easy for students returning from the war to reenter

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college and complete their course of study. He caused the erection of a memorial chapel, on whose walls, in letters of gold, are inscribed the names of Wesleyan's heroes of the civil war. The late Hon. Benjamin Douglas, of Middletown, Conn., known to every student and friend of Wesleyan for the past four decades, wrote of Dr. Cummings:

> He will long be remembered, in this town and in the college which he labored so long and earnestly to build up in our midst, as one who was first and foremost in every good work, whether in the Church or State. Patriotic and Christian, wherever he could find a place or duty called he was ready at his post; and when the nation was called upon to defend its life and honor no man was more firm than he, and in every emergency he was true as steel.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first organized body of Christians to extend congratulations and assurances of loyalty to Washington, the father of the Republic, and it was also the first to extend similar assurances to Lincoln, the saviour of the Republic. In 1864 Dr. Cummings took prominent part in making an important chapter of American history. The General Conference of that year, in which he sat as a delegate from the New England Conference, ordered an address to be prepared and presented to President Lincoln assuring him of the loyalty of the Methodist Episcopal Church to his administration, and directed that a committee of five be sent to Washington for this purpose. Dr. Cummings, as chairman of the Committee on the State of the Country and at the special request of Bishop Ames, wrote the address, which was submitted to the Conference and adopted. The committee of five consisted of Bishop Ames, Joseph Cummings, George Peck, Charles Elliott, and Granville Moody. They waited on the President, and Dr. Cummings read the address. It is meet and appropriate that the address and the response should here be given for permanent record:

> TO HIS EXCELLENCY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:
>
> The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now in session in the city of Philadelphia, representing nearly seven thousand ministers and nearly a million of members, mindful of their duty as Christian citizens, takes the earliest opportunity to express to you the assurance of the loyalty of the Church, her earnest devotion to the interests

of the country, and her sympathy with you in the great responsibilities of your high position in this trying hour.

With exultation we point to the record of our Church as having never been tarnished by disloyalty. She was the first of the Churches to express, by a deputation of her most distinguished ministers, the promise of support to the government in the days of Washington. In her Articles of Religion she has enjoined loyalty as a duty, and has ever given to the government her most decided support.

In this present struggle for the nation's life many thousands of her members and a large number of her ministers have rushed to arms to maintain the cause of God and humanity. They have sealed their devotion to their country with their blood on every battlefield of this terrible war.

We regard this dreadful scourge now desolating our land and wasting the nation's life as the result of a most unnatural, utterly unjustifiable rebellion, involving the crime of treason against the best of human governments and sin against God. It required our government to submit to its own dismemberment and destruction, leaving it no alternative but to preserve the national integrity by the use of the national resources. If the government had failed to use its power to preserve the unity of the nation and maintain its authority, it would have been justly exposed to the wrath of Heaven and to the reproach and scorn of the civilized world.

Our earnest and constant prayer is that this cruel and wicked rebellion may be speedily suppressed; and we pledge you our hearty cooperation in all appropriate means to secure this object.

Loyal and hopeful in national adversity, in prosperity thankful, we most heartily congratulate you on the glorious victories recently gained, and rejoice in the belief that our complete triumph is near.

We believe that our national sorrows and calamities have resulted in a great degree from our forgetfulness of God and oppression of our fellow-men. Chastened by affliction, may the nation humbly repent of her sins, lay aside her haughty pride, honor God in all future legislation, and render justice to all who have been wronged.

We honor you for your proclamations of liberty, and rejoice in all the acts of the government designed to secure freedom to the enslaved.

We trust that when military usages and necessities shall justify interference with established institutions and the removal of wrongs sanctioned by law, the occasion will be improved, not merely to injure our foes and increase the national resources, but also as an opportunity to recognize our obligations to God and to honor his law. We pray that the time may speedily come when this shall be truly a republican and free country, in no part of which, either State or Territory, shall slavery be known.

The prayers of millions of Christians, with an earnestness never manifested for rulers before, daily ascend to heaven that you may be endowed with all needed wisdom and power. Actuated by the sentiments of the loftiest and purest patriotism, our prayer shall be continually for the pres-

ervation of our country undivided, for the triumph of our cause, and for a permanent peace, gained by the sacrifice of no moral principles, but founded on the word of God and securing in righteousness liberty and equal rights to all.

This address called out that historic autograph address from President Lincoln which reads:[*]

GENTLEMEN: In response to your address allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical statements, indorse the sentiments it expresses, and thank you in the nation's name for the sure promise it gives.

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the Churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet without this it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church, bless all the Churches, and blessed be God, who in this, our great trial, giveth us the Churches! [Signed] A. LINCOLN.

Dr. Cummings was a strong and uncompromising champion of right, while at the same time he dealt fairly with antagonists. Obstacles were incentives to him. Tempestuous waves on the sea of life never made him sick, but plain sailing wearied him. He was made for victory through struggle. By the law of gravitation his soul was antislavery until emancipation came, and was antisaloon, and would have been, had he lived, until prohibition came. He had the undebating courage to follow the right as he saw the right. In the General Conference of 1876 he was one of the chief advocates for an elective presiding eldership. He was, in many movements which he considered reforms, in advance of his times.

He had an intense interest, which always on occasion was manifested, in social science and in living questions, and a responsive and cordial sympathy with all that would better harsh social inequalities and promote social progress, and with the struggles of his fellow-men in their efforts to adjust their relations as to the equitable division of the profits accruing from the joint use of capital and labor. In his address, in 1886, before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, an organization of which he was vice president, he gave a

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[*] This address is now in the possession of William H. Harris, Esq., of New York city, the son of the late Bishop William L. Harris, who was secretary of the General Conference of 1864.

realistic picture of the perils of increasing antagonisms and of the causes of discontent; exposing their errors and their source, he impartially rebuked and warned both classes, and proposed remedies based upon the principle of conference and arbitration and upon the recognition of the Christian principle of stewardship. This address is even more applicable to present conditions than when it was delivered. Dr. Cummings would have been eminent in any career or measured by any standard; and had he entered political life he would have ranked among statesmen—statesmen of the higher type.

By the test of achieved results his was a most extraordinarily successful and magnificent career. There was no hint of weakness in his personality, but always the impression of strength. The atmosphere which surrounded him possessed the tonic of moral ozone. His physical stature was a fit vehicle for the authority and command, the large mental mold, and the intense conviction which were his by natural endowment. Despite his commanding presence, which sometimes overawed by its dignity and gave the impression of austerity, he was by nature gentle, generous, considerate, and self-sacrificing.

He was sensitive about criticism, but could be silent under it. He possessed absolute intellectual and moral integrity. He was both theoretic and practical, but rejected theories that were not practical. Firmness and gentleness were wedded in his character. Expediency was never allowed to stand in the way of his sense of right and the obligation of duty. Duty was the inspiration of a courage which made him self-forgetful. He was conservatively radical. A commander by the election of others, he was not tyrannical, or austere, or self-assertive. He has been the subject of criticism in his administration of college affairs. This is not matter for wonder. He had convictions; so had his critics. He was fallible; so were they. But his record has few blotches to mar it, and they have rapidly faded. Every institution where he has toiled has his life inwrought and bears the stamp of his powerful individuality. Everywhere he was the stimulator, the molder, the controller, the guardian, the leader, the prophet.

The work he accomplished was in response to the call of God, which he obeyed with unswerving faith and dauntless courage; and this, high above his intellectual gifts, his acquired knowl-

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edge, his administrative skill, and his large sympathies, constituted the secret of his power. Pervading his whole nature and dominating all his faculties were faith, reverence, love, sacrifice, born of an intimate acquaintance with God. His sympathies were readily aroused by suffering, which he always counted a personal affliction. When struggling with death he persisted in hearing recitations in the class room and in attending to the business interests of the university—working and dying at the same time and victorious in both.

It can be truthfully said of him, as has been said of another:

> He was strong, because sincere. He had all the tenderness of real strength and all the strength of real tenderness. Nevertheless, he was poorly endowed with patience for many things. He would burn and flare against pretense and hypocrisy with an energy that was startling. He could no more bear sham than be a sham himself. The meannesses that eat integrity out of character were specially smitten by his sarcasm or shriveled in his scorn.

He stood like one of the pillars of Hiram, of the finest material, of great height and symmetry, and firmly based; and "upon the top of the pillars was lily work." Strength and beauty were blended in him.

Joseph Cummings was a well-rounded, full-orbed man. He was a painstaking student. He was an accomplished educator. He was an indefatigable toiler. He was an ardent patriot. He was a powerful preacher. He was a thrilling orator. He was a faithful pastor. He was a masterly executive. He was a conscientious reformer. He was an inspirer of youth. He was a friend of man. He was a servant of God.

James M. King.

ART. II.—THE FALL OF MAN A SCIENTIFIC FACT.

THERE are only two accepted theories which attempt to explain the origin of man. One is that usually believed to be taught by the Bible, that man had an independent origin, being created by God from the dust of the ground in his own image. All who accept this theory must necessarily accept the fall of man as a fact, as it is an inseparable part of the same theory. The other theory is that taught by evolution, that man did not have an independent origin, but that he had a common origin with the animal kingdom and is the product of evolution. It is not our intention to pass judgment upon the relative merits or demerits of these two theories. They must stand or fall upon their own merits, according to their conformity or nonconformity with known facts. Our sole purpose is to establish an undisputed condition of purity for original man, and to compare this with his present state in order to determine the truthfulness or falsity of the idea of his fall. Those who believe that man was an independent creation hold that in his original state he was not only perfectly pure, but perfectly holy. As animals are neither holy nor always perfect in conduct we shall base our argument upon the supposition that evolution applies to man; that physically he is merely an animal, evolved from a lower form of life to a higher by successive processes. This will certainly be fair for the scientific theory; and the independent creationists may accept the supposition for the sake of argument, as their standard is a much higher one.

If evolution applies to man we must admit that when our race developed out of the animal into man it was just as pure as the animal nature from which it was evolved. To admit that original man was sunk in degradation unknown to the animal kingdom is contradictory to the whole hypothesis of evolution, and is practically to admit all that the independent creationists claim. Evolution not only accepts, but must demand, a standard of animal purity for original man. Hence, all acceptable theories of man's origin must assume that, "in the beginning," the human race was at least as pure as our present wild animals; and from a scientific standpoint we cannot reject the conclusion which logic must draw from the facts based upon

this foundation. A comparative study, then, of the life, habits, nature, and tendencies of animals and the human race, together with whatever light the testimony of others may add to our own knowledge upon this subject, must constitute our entire stock of scientific materials upon which we must pass judgment. We will now endeavor to bring clearly before us the facts upon which we must make this decision.

The first great difference we notice between animals and man is that the rule of instinct is a guide in the former and the rule of intelligence in the latter. We mean by instinct an untaught ability to perform certain acts which are useful or necessary to the individual or to its species. All animals are partly, at least, governed by instinct. These instincts are inherited, and answer the same purpose to the animal that experience and training do to man. Accordingly, one animal or generation is as capable of taking care of itself as another, provided the circumstances are similar or equivalent. Instinct is most perfect in the lower orders of the animal kingdom, and is especially marked in the operations of the social insects, as the wasp, the ant, and the bee, each community of which constructs a habitation for itself which the most skilled and enlightened human intelligence could scarcely equal. These insects perform their work without education from their parents or associates or from progressive attempts of their own; and, without any hesitation, interruption, or confusion, the different individuals of the community all labor harmoniously and effectively for the accomplishment of one and the same purpose.

The study of the bee is especially instructive in its revelations of instinct. The males, or drones, are nonproducers, their only value being in reproduction, in which act they lose their lives. The other males, which are not thus destroyed, are usually slaughtered by the workers in June, July, or August, but few ever dying a natural death. The female bees include the queens and the workers. The workers are sometimes improperly called neuters. They are simply undeveloped females, being reared in a smaller cell and upon less stimulating food than are the queens, and hence of slower growth. The queen larvæ are fed upon more stimulating food, which fully develops their sexual organs. The queen bee may live to the age of three or four years. Her function is to lay the eggs, which may reach

two thousand in one day. It is the office or function of the workers to do all that is required in providing for themselves, the queen, the drones, and the larvæ. Some are nurses, some makers of comb, others gatherers of honey, while still others are engaged in the care or ventilation of their house, producing the humming noise heard in hives. All of this work is systematically and harmoniously done, notwithstanding the fact that the lives of the workers seldom exceed six weeks during the busy season of the year and that none of their ancestors ever did any of this work.

The working bee, then, inherits the ability to do work perfectly, which work we have no evidence that any of its ancestors ever did. The workers not only know just what and how to feed each separate larva, to develop it into its intended drone, worker, or queen, but, should a queen die, be picked up in her flight by a bird, or be otherwise destroyed without the knowledge of the workers when there are eggs in the cells, the workers make a diligent search for her for two or three days. If they cannot find her they take a worker larva which is not more than three days old, break down two adjacent cells, and sacrifice the larvæ in these two cells. They then build a royal cell around the young larva, which would otherwise have been a worker, and feed her upon the royal jelly. In from ten to sixteen days the insect issues from its cell a perfect queen, when the domestic economy is again restored. This production of a queen from the larva of a worker may not have occurred for generations, possibly never in the line of their direct ancestors; yet the instinct of the workers tells them exactly what to do and how to do it. According to human methods of acquiring knowledge this would be impossible.

All herbivorous animals, except the camel, have quite an accurate botanical knowledge of plants and, accordingly, select only those which are suited for their food. Other plants may be selected for medicinal properties, as, for instance, the eating of grass and other herbs by cats and dogs.

Animals instinctively know an enemy. A cat or a sheep which never saw a dog or a wolf will, at sight of such animal, at once show that it recognizes it as an enemy. Hunters bear witness that all wild animals readily recognize man as an enemy when he sets out to hunt that animal.

The wounded elephant repairs to the river, where it washes its wound, and then plasters this cleansed wound up with mud, which it leaves until the wound has healed. It has not been ten years since surgeons learned an equal skill in dressing a wound, by thoroughly cleansing and excluding all germs by proper dressing and then letting it alone until it heals. It thus required twenty-four centuries of the accumulating experience of the medical profession, from the great Hippocrates to within the last ten years, to attain this knowledge. Yet the elephant probably practiced its surgery just as successfully centuries before the building of the pyramids of Egypt as it does to-day.

Some animals rest for months without food during the winter season, in a peculiar state called hibernation. This hibernating state is not assumed at the option or will of the animal, but is a physiological state which is brought on, in some animals, by the approach of winter, since these same animals do not hibernate in warm climates, where they have plenty of food. Reproduction, also, is controlled in the entire animal kingdom by instinct or by physiological conditions.

If asked, "How came these instincts and periodical physiological states to be so perfectly implanted in animal nature?" we must reply with all candor, from a scientific point of view, that we do not know. Science has only revealed the fact, and not the method. The independent creationists reply that "God so made them." But this is a theological answer, and not a scientific one, as nothing can be scientific except that which is observed by man or reasoned out from facts of observation. The theoretical evolutionist would reply that they were implanted by the similar actions of ancestors, made necessary by the conditions. The survival, then, of the "fittest," or conformists, and the perishing of the nonconformists must be the result. This answer is even more unscientific, as observation has not proved that the training or experience of ancestors can be permanently implanted in the offspring; but, on the contrary, the generations soon return to their original conditions when the animal returns to its natural state.

This theory of the evolutionists has the still greater objection of being directly and flatly contradicted by facts, and so cannot be true. The ancestors of all working bees, for instance, have been for thousands of years, if not from the earliest life

of the bee, the nonworking queens and the drones. So the working bee could not inherit its ability to do its work through the experience of its ancestors. The teeth of the crocodile are hollow and are renewed by others which are contained within them. The inner teeth develop by degrees into fuller growth and at a subsequent period displace the older teeth, and are themselves displaced in the same way in later years. This is a necessary process for the long life of the crocodile, which may live one hundred and fifty or two hundred years, as they must always have sharp teeth in order to secure their food. But such a process could never be the result of ancestral choices. This theory assumes the absurdity that offspring can inherit experiences from their ancestors which the ancestors never experienced, and that these experiences will develop controlling physiological states of the most vital importance. As there is no reason to believe that animals ever plan for the future except through their instincts, and that almost universally they provide only for the immediate present, we cannot reasonably believe that these processes were developed through ancestral choices or environments. There is no possible way that animals could aid the development of such processes, even if they could foresee their necessity. Hence, these processes, as well as instincts, must have been originated and developed by a force or forces not under the control of the animal or its environments. Science speaks emphatically as to the facts, although it is not able to explain the method.

There is nothing in the nature or conduct of an animal which sanctions a belief that its life is prolonged beyond its physical existence, as all animal conduct points exclusively to physical results; which conduct is prompted either by individual peculiarities or preferences that tend to the comfort or preservation of the life of the individual or to the perpetuation of the species. As their conduct, especially that corresponding to the moral in man, is largely performed in response to instinct or in obedience to physiological processes over which the animal exercises no choice or control, this conduct is not moral conduct, since the animal is not responsible, and so there cannot be any moral principle involved. An animal feels just as complacent over a mean act as over a good one, provided it succeeds and brings no displeasure upon itself. A dog sneaks

away when it disobeys its master; but this is through fear of punishment, not from any visible trace of a conscience.

Much of the conduct of animals is evidently not intelligently understood by them, and many acts are performed under circumstances which render them nugatory. Bees will attempt to rear a queen from a drone larva, and a domesticated beaver will build a dam across its apartments, proving clearly that instinctive actions are not the results of reason in adapting means to the accomplishment of certain definite purposes. All of the higher species, however, seem to reason to a large extent; but their power in this direction is limited by, and adapted to, the individual nature and instincts. This reasoning power is mostly used in escaping from danger or in securing food. If food is plenty animals eat simply the kind and quantity their systems demand. They never gorge their stomachs to merely satisfy the palate. They never prey upon their own species or intentionally destroy their unborn offspring; and they all expect to secure their food by the ordinary methods of their species.

Reproduction, the highest function of animal nature, is the most perfectly guarded and scrupulously managed. It is presided over with an exactness truly to be admired and with a purity unsurpassed. Many animals mate, when the male cares for its female with the greatest assiduity. The relations of the sexes of all animals, in their natural wild state, is only equaled in purity by that in the best and purest families. No wild animals ever abuse or degrade their females. Their blood, accordingly, is handed down from generation to generation in as pure and healthful a condition as their lives and circumstances will permit. This is the standard of purity which science declares original man must have inherited.

As we turn from the study of animal life and habits to those of the human race we are at once impressed with an almost total absence of instinct, and the substitution instead of the rule of intelligence, or reason. Man also possesses some additional faculties to those common with animals. which faculties were evidently intended to take the place of animal instincts. All human faculties are, accordingly. developed to the highest extent or are capable of such development. Intelligence, reason, and choice rule supreme in man and give to the human mind the highest capabilities of thought,

imagination, and will. We inherit the ability to think from self-evident truths, intuitive principles, and observed facts to their logical conclusions. But no knowledge of parents or ancestors, gained by experience, study, or training, is ever inherited by the child. He inherits mental and physical abilities, but not knowledge. Hence, every child is just what its ability, energy, training, and surrounding influences have made it. It is absolutely dependent upon its early training to set it in the right road for the attainment of truth, or it must gain its knowledge through the same routine of successes and failures that untold generations have experienced before it. Wrong training and wrong influences in youth are seldom ever perfectly retrieved in after years. Children must be taught the fundamental principles, at least, of right living, as they have no instincts to guide them in critical emergencies.

Every vital function of the human body may be influenced by the choices and decisions of the mind. This is far too often the case in nutrition, where wrong choices of both quality and quantity of food either starve the system, from lack of sufficient or necessary ingredients to supply the worn-out tissues of the body, or else gorge the stomach and interfere with digestion. Such a course, persistently followed, is sure to injure the health or destroy life. Insufficient fluid may be taken to carry off the poisons and worn-out tissues, which thus destroy the health; or the thirst may be entirely quenched by narcotic stimulants, which overstrain the nervous system until it gives way to incurable diseases. But the most perverted function is the highest function of physical nature—that upon which the race depends.

Good or evil motives prompt man to make good or bad choices. To guide him in these choices he is provided with a conscience, which is a higher faculty than the judgment or reason, since it presides over these faculties in dictating to the will the choices of action. It is a faculty only of man; which fact makes him the only moral or immoral being, according to his obedience or disobedience to its dictates. The conscience is that mental faculty "which perceives and feels rightness and obligatoriness in choices" and intentions.* It does not include the judgment, although using and ruling over it. Its special

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* Joseph Cook, *Conscience*, p. 17.

sphere is to preside and exercise moral control over choices and intentions of good or bad; and so it is not responsible for the wrong decisions made by the will. We infallibly know whether we intend to do right or wrong, and the conscience infallibly directs us to do that which is right and shun that which is wrong. In order to meet these demands we must use all the light we have or can obtain upon a given subject, or we are responsible for all of the calamities which result.

Within its own sphere of choices and intentions the conscience is an infallible guide. It is conditioned, however, upon the materials it must use, and is strengthened or weakened as its dictates are obeyed or disregarded. The habit of disregarding the conscience soon sears or destroys its delicate sensibility, so that there will be no response to a sense of either rightness or duty. In such a fall the conscience does not fall, but is either weakened or destroyed. The conscience is the compass which safely guides us over the great seas of duty and obligation, and cannot be disregarded without sure destruction. Our mistakes are never the mistakes of conscience. They are errors of judgment, rendered without sufficient knowledge upon which to build an accurate conclusion, are the results of prejudice, through which vital facts are ignored, or are decisions rendered in direct disobedience to the conscience. In either case the conscience is neither at fault nor responsible. When we disobey the conscience to that extent that our conduct naturally tends to evil, that conduct becomes a sin. Sin or evil conduct is known to every intelligent, thinking person as an act in violation of the inner light, or conscience. Hence, it is the violation of principles which are known to be right and produces a stunning effect upon the consciousness. This protest of the conscience gradually lessens in force by frequent repetition of wrong acts, and is strengthened by intentional good acts.

The universal tendency of sin is to degradation and destruction; and so it is necessarily self-limiting. This is especially so of immorality, which is responsible for the propagation of venereal diseases, with all of their dire consequences. These diseases make a vicious thrust at the very life of the race by their tendency to destroy the individual and to cut off his offspring. It is evident that the destructive effect of these diseases is an effort on the part of nature to destroy sin, by cutting off the

line and generation of those who indulge in sin. Drunkenness not only greatly shortens or destroys life, but also weakens the vitality of the offspring, so that it more readily succumbs to disease. The habitual drinker, who keeps his system constantly under the influence of alcoholic stimulants, although he may never become intoxicated, is more likely to die from their effects and to injure his children than the occasional drunkard who, at other times, leaves these stimulants entirely alone. Murder, robbery, stealing, lying, drunkenness, fraud, and adultery are sins, because they do violence to the welfare of the human race by their corrupting, degrading, and destroying influences. Sin is sin purely on account of its vicious and evil influences, and always brings its calamities.

Man is not satisfied with either his condition or the results of his labors in this life. He is not guided by instinct to infallible results, and so must suffer defeat and disappointment from wrong decisions. Intelligence, reason, judgment, and conscience combine to weigh motives and make choices. His intelligence grasps the knowledge and experience of the past; his reason and judgment weigh causes and measure results for eternity; but his decisions of conscience, with their "ought" and "ought not," are the most pronounced features of his mental and moral constitution. His thoughts reach from the eternity of the past to the eternity of the future. He plans not only for the near, but for the remote, future; and he lives, or should live, for eternity and for some future condition. Peace and happiness abide only with purity and right conduct; while wrong conduct inherently and eternally degrades and destroys. This is man's nature, and he cannot help it. Truth ennobles and falsehood degrades, and he knows it and cannot help knowing it, because he is ennobled by the one and degraded by the other. Science and experience tell us this is man's nature; yet just how he received it we are not able to give a scientific explanation. With a glance that takes in the horizon of time and a thought that embraces the eternities, man, in his full and larger nature, must assume eternal responsibilities and consequences. While his motives may and should be as high as heaven, his choices are sometimes as foul and base as his ability and circumstances can make them. He suffers the most fearful penalties of all animal nature as the

consequences of unbridled appetite and passion. With capacity to become an angel, he may, and often does, become a devil incarnate, a physical and moral suicide, a menace to his own offspring, a curse to his race, physically and morally.

Evil and wicked associations are always corrupting; and so nations, as well as individuals, may become immoral. When the controlling power passes into the hands of the immoral elements the nation gradually sinks into decay and ruin. Rome fell from her own weakness, engendered through her own corrupt morals, although she was once the most powerful and irresistible nation upon the face of the globe. The Italian people have never recovered from the effects of the immorality of their ancestors. France, also, was once dominated by Rome, and naturally absorbed a superabundance of her worst elements rather than of the good. She reaps her reward to-day in being the most immoral nation in the world. Through her immorality and the various methods which she uses to prevent and destroy life only two children on an average are born in each family, and over half of these die in childhood. Should this continue she would soon depopulate her land, which would then probably be peopled by Germany. From the earliest records we have of the German people they held the chastity of their women in highest respect. Through her inherited chastity Germany has infused new life and vigor into every nation with which she has mingled her blood.

The United States is trying to imitate France. Nearly one third of her children are prematurely destroyed, and this crime is rapidly on the increase. All of our large cities are so steeped in immorality and crime that they would soon depopulate themselves were it not for the fact that they are constantly fed by pure blood from rural districts. We have eight millions of so-called colored people; but the fact is, to our disgrace, that these eight millions of negroes have more white blood in their veins than black, all of which is the result of the immorality of the whites. If the whites are preyed upon by the immoral negro it is their own fault; for the negro is largely just what the white people have taught him to be. We often hear persons bemoan the destruction of the American Indian and lay all the blame upon the whites. But this claim is completely shorn of its force when we realize that the decrease

of the Indian was almost entirely due to the ravages of venereal diseases, spread entirely through his immoral habits, and that the recent increase in the Indian population can be justly claimed as the result of the treatment of Indians by American physicians.

The study of natural history is profoundly interesting in its revelations of truth. But no light thrown upon nature and her ways is more deeply interesting than that which shows how both animals and man are controlled by superior power. Physical life must be maintained by feeding hungry stomachs; and to accomplish this one species often preys upon another. The irresistible law of force everywhere prevails. But whence came this force, and how is it controlled? We believe that all natural phenomena tend to prove that all force in nature originates from the ever-active divine will, and that all natural law is law by divine enactment and for a divine purpose. This view is not contradictory to the evolution theory, which we accepted as true in the beginning. It simply has reference to the ability and wisdom of the Creator. To assume that, if God made the world, there is no use in trying to find out his methods, is just as foolish as to assume that, if a watch of richest material and most perfect design and finish be made by a mechanic who perfectly understands his business, there is nothing possibly to be learned by studying his methods.

Observation proves that natural law works through the rule of instinct in animals and through the rule of mind in man. Instinct is not a choice of the animal, as the animal has nothing to do except to obey. But the rule of mind must necessarily be left to the individual, when everything depends upon choice. The great difference between success and failure in human acts is largely determined by the ability to read the future by the past. There is no sure road to knowledge except through experience, good judgment, and faithful study. This applies equally to men and women. If the popular notion of women's "intuitions" is correct women are more like animals than men, for intuition is the animal mode of thinking. But the fact that woman so frequently errs, especially in the most important choice of her life, proves that she has no ability for the attainment of truth which is not equally shared by man. Few persons of either sex ever learn to think from the facts to their legitimate and logical conclusions. The opinions of the

weaker-minded are usually formed by other persons, who may intentionally deceive them. They obey bad impulses, not because they do not know that they are doing wrong, but because the will power is too weak to resist the temptation. Repetition not only weakens the will power, but also sears or deadens the conscience. When the individual drifts away from the sting and controlling power of his conscience by wrong acts there is nothing left to guide him except his desires, appetites, and passions, which are inadequate and unsafe guides. All animals are guided by a superior and higher power. Hence, man may easily sink below the level of the brute.

The nature and requirements of the physical bodies of men so closely resemble those of animals that it must be inferred that their conduct was intended to be similar in all common essentials, and that man's nature requires that his conduct should be, in every particular, at least as high as that of wild animals. As the conduct of no animal species tends to degrade and destroy the species, so the conduct of normal man cannot tend to destroy the race. From the nature of the case we are compelled to account for the difference in conduct of animals and man, and more especially so if the controlling power of man has developed from that of the animal. Science emphatically declares that man has not the power within his physical nature to insure his perfect and proper control. Some of the inferences which must be drawn from this fact are beyond the scope of this article, and so we must leave these inferences to be drawn by our readers. But the common observations along this line abundantly prove that the conduct of man will not bear comparison with the conduct of wild animals if measured by a fair and impartial standard, based upon common essentials.

Reproduction, the highest and most important function of animal life, is most perverted by man. Of all animals man is the only deliberate robber, the only cold-blooded murderer, the only habitual adulterer, the only animal which deliberately and absolutely destroys its own species by its own vices. He is the only real and habitual criminal. This difference in conduct is far-reaching in its results on future generations. The offspring of all animals reap the reward of a pure moral inheritance, which is the greatest inheritance any parent can possibly give to his children. This is man's golden opportunity for the

advancement of himself and his race; but he fails. Animals enjoy the health merited from their own purity, while man alone suffers the calamities of his immorality. The domestic animals, however, present some few occasional exceptions to the high standard of conduct of animals in their natural wild state, which must be attributed to the unnaturalness of domestication or to the contaminating influence of man, which counteracts or perverts the natural instincts of the animal.

It seems quite clear that animals obey the laws of nature through the rule of instincts implanted in their natures, and that man was intended to obey the same laws through the rule of mind, by putting himself in communion with the same power which governs animals. This is perfectly adequate for man's perfect and proper control, if he only will to do what he knows to be right. But he wills differently, and he and his children must suffer the penalties. The children born into the world are about equally divided between the male and female sexes, which makes it necessary that a man marry only one wife; otherwise, some men must live a single life. As children are so much longer dependent upon their parents than any animal, and so perfectly dependent upon their training, it becomes an absolute necessity, from man's nature, that every father bear his part in the support and training of his children. There is an exact condition of man's nature met in monogamous marriage which was evidently intended to continue until death. It was meant that a high ideal of marriage should ever be held sacred by both male and female, married and single persons, under all circumstances. Observation proves this view to be correct; for, other things being equal, every community rises in its standard of morality and vigor in proportion to its increase of married people, and correspondingly falls in proportion to its increase of unmarried people.

From the nature of man and the disastrous effects upon his own organism resulting from violation of the laws of his own nature we must draw the conclusions that the standard of purity of original man was, at least, as high as that of our present wild animals; that there are additional demands made upon humanity to meet certain requirements not found in animals; and that these laws of nature were intended to be universally obeyed by man. This excludes drunkenness, gluttony, lying,

stealing, murder, and immorality, since science must require a standard of purity for original man which would sustain, and not destroy, either the individual or the race. If this standard were as well sustained by man as it is by wild animals and combined with good common sense in hygiene at least twenty-five years would be added to the common expectancy of life.

If we do not accept the evolution of man we must accept the standard of the independent creationists, which requires all the attributes that evolution requires, and also holiness and perfection. This simply raises the original standard of man and makes the fall still greater. It is not probable that all of those who read this article will accept all our data or our deductions. The plan of argument, however, must be accepted as the only true method of a scientific presentation of this subject. Whatever is rejected, sufficient facts must still remain to demonstrate our point, as the purity of wild animals and the depravity of man are matters of common observation and cannot be disputed. If man was not evolved from the animal kingdom he must have had an origin equally pure with that of the animals. Whichever view we take of his origin, the result is the same—that he had a pure origin which he has not kept. His physical record, as taught by observed facts, is simply a counterpart of his spiritual record, as taught by the revealed word. Hence, there is but one conclusion, from which there is no escape—that the fall of man is a scientific fact.

This subject is presented purely from the view of man's physical nature; and we have endeavored to follow only the lead of truth as taught by scientific investigation. It has not been our purpose to defend any theological view or to present even an outline of the proper methods of teaching morality. It has simply been our purpose to correctly settle one scientific point, with the hope of laying a true and proper foundation for the efficient teaching of morality by giving a better understanding of the truth. If we injure none and aid any, to that extent our object has been accomplished.

A. J. Baker.

ART. III.—THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN NEW ENGLAND.

CERTAIN questions have been mooted in regard to the religious tendencies and prospects of New England, to which answers have been given, provoking other inquiries, sometimes with unsatisfactory results. The census of the United States for 1890, furnishing fuller and more reliable data of the Churches than any former census, makes it now possible to prosecute this investigation and reach more satisfactory conclusions.

I. Our inquiries begin with the actual exhibits of the Churches. The last census gives the number of the church organizations, a classification never attempted before except in the census of 1870, and also the number of communicants or members, a wholly new item. Even the denominations which have not hitherto registered or enrolled communicants, some of which are new bodies, were induced by Dr. Carroll to furnish the number of their members. Every religious body existing in New England will be given in the following tables; but the church edifices and their valuations and seating capacity will be omitted, lest this article should be unduly extended.

MAINE.

DENOMINATIONS. 1. *Evangelical*[*] *Protestant Bodies.*			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Adventists: Christian	65	2,317		
Life and Advent Union	7	188		
Seventh Day	25	459		
			97	2,964
Baptists: Free Will	280	16,294		
Old Two Seed in the Spirit	3	115		
Primitive	3	137		
Regular	237	18,917		
			523	35,463
Christians			60	3,451
Congregationalists			240	21,523
Disciples			9	293
Episcopalians			38	3,291
Friends			23	1,430
Independent Congregations			3	170
Lutherans: Danish	2	200		
General Council	1	179		
Independent	1	300		
United Norwegian	2	225		
			6	904

[*] On the basis of the Evangelical Alliance.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

DENOMINATIONS. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies—Continued.*			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Methodists: African Union Methodist Episcopal	1	45		
Methodist Episcopal	355	22,996		
			356	23,041
Plymouth Brethren			1	5
Presbyterians: General Assembly	2	205		
Reformed	1	19		
			3	224
Salvation Army			9	265
Winebrennarians			3	75
Total			1,371	93,099

2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*

Christian Scientists	2	60
Church of the New Jerusalem	4	289
Communistic Societies	2	100
Mormons	14	442
Spiritualists	21	2,562
Unitarians	22	2,421
Universalists	86	3,750
Total	151	9,624
All non-Catholic Bodies	1,522	102,723

3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*

Roman Catholics	88	57,548

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*

Adventists: Christian	43	1,978		
Seventh Day	4	112		
			47	2,090
Baptists: Free Will	94	8,004		
Regular	85	8,768		
			179	16,772
Christian Union			2	102
Christians			23	1,522
Congregationalists			188	19,712
Episcopalians			44	2,911
Friends			10	413
Independent Congregations			3	150
Lutherans: General Council	2	395		
Union Norwegian	1	125		
			3	520
Methodist Episcopal Church			134	12,354
Plymouth Brethren			2	19
Presbyterians, General Assembly			8	956
Salvation Army			1	26
Total			644	57,547

DENOMINATIONS.			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*				
Christian Scientists			3	54
Church of the New Jerusalem			1	42
Communistic Societies			2	250
Spiritualists			6	672
Unitarians			26	3,252
Universalists			33	1,204
Total			71	5,474
All non-Catholic Bodies			715	63,021
3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*				
Roman Catholics			68	39,920

VERMONT.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*

Adventists: Christian	28	1,079		
Evangelical	4	163		
Seventh Day	26	526		
			58	1,768
Baptists: Free Will	43	2,325		
Regular	100	8,933		
			5	335
Christian Union			143	11,258
Christians			5	264
Congregationalists			198	20,465
Disciples			2	262
Episcopalians			63	4,335
Friends			4	251
Independent Congregations			4	166
Lutherans, General Council			2	174
Methodists: Methodist Episcopal	228	17,268		
Wesleyan	6	259		
			234	17,527
Plymouth Brethren			2	6
Presbyterians: General Assembly	2	230		
General Synod of Reformed	2	165		
Reformed	5	222		
United	3	219		
Welsh	6	431		
			18	1,267
Total			738	58,078
2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*				
Christian Scientists			2	40
Jews			1	44
Spiritualists			10	1,966
Unitarians			9	968
Universalists			65	2,409
Total			87	5,427
All non-Catholic Bodies			825	63,505

3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*

DENOMINATIONS.			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Roman Catholics			79	42,810

MASSACHUSETTS.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*

Adventists: Christian	39	2,611		
Evangelical	3	150		
Life and Advent Union	5	177		
Seventh Day	15	490		
			62	3,428
Armenians			3	195
Baptists: Free Will	20	3,122		
Primitive	1	10		
Regular	318	59,830		
Six-Principle	1	4		
			340	62,966
Catholics: Apostolic	1	70		
Reformed	2	250		
			3	320
Christadelphians			9	245
Christians			28	2,722
Congregationalists			559	101,890
Disciples			4	777
Episcopalians: Protestant	166	26,855		
Reformed	2	311		
			168	27,166
Friends			32	1,602
Independent Congregations			18	684
Lutherans: Danish	3	119		
General Council	12	1,743		
General Synod	2	103		
Independent	1	80		
Norwegian	2	375		
Synodical Conference	10	1,717		
			30	4,137
Methodists: African Methodist Episcopal	12	1,342		
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	7	724		
Free	1	12		
Methodist Episcopal	394	58,477		
Primitive	7	575		
Wesleyan	1	8		
			422	61,138
Plymouth Brethren			18	552
Presbyterians: General Assembly	18	3,570		
Reformed	2	400		
United	7	1,135		
			27	5,105
Reformed Church			1	62
Salvation Army			14	656
Winebrennarians			1	20
Total			1,739	273,665

2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*

Christian Scientists			10	499
Church of the New Jerusalem			22	1,684

DENOMINATIONS. *Other Protestant Bodies—Continued.*	Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Communistic Societies	5	164
Jews	9	2,501
Mormons	8	457
Spiritualists	61	7,345
Theosophists	2	57
Unitarians	189	34,610
Universalists	121	7,142
Total	427	54,459
All non-Catholic Bodies	2,166	328,124

3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*

Roman Catholics	381	614,627

RHODE ISLAND.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*

Adventists: Christian	12	950		
Evangelical	2	325		
Life and Advent Union	1	75		
Seventh Day	6	108		
			21	1,458
Armenians			2	70
Baptists: Free Will	26	3,252		
Regular	68	12,055		
Seventh Day	7	1,271		
Six-Principle	12	715		
			113	17,293
Christian Union			1	50
Christians			8	972
Congregationalists			34	7,192
Disciples			1	35
Episcopalians			50	9,458
Friends			16	698
Independent Congregations			6	768
Lutherans: General Council	3	420		
Independent	1	170		
			4	590
Methodists: African Methodist Episcopal	4	595		
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	3	401		
African Union Methodist Episcopal	1	49		
Methodist Episcopal	39	6,064		
Primitive	4	194		
Union American Methodist Episcopal	1	50		
			52	7,353
Plymouth Brethren			4	66
Presbyterians: General Assembly	4	608		
United	1	220		
			5	828
Salvation Army			2	31
Total			319	46,862

DENOMINATIONS.	Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*		
Christian Scientists	1	75
Church of the New Jerusalem	3	130
Jews	5	910
Mormons	3	233
Spiritualists	4	150
Unitarians	6	1,595
Universalists	10	998
Total	32	4,091
All non-Catholic Bodies	351	50,953
3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*		
Roman Catholics	51	96,755

CONNECTICUT.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*

Adventists: Christian	26	1,358		
Life and Advent Union	6	243		
Seventh Day	3	91		
			35	1,692
Baptists: Free Will	2	125		
Regular	135	22,372		
Seventh Day	2	103		
			139	22,600
Catholic Apostolic			3	186
Christians			3	105
Congregationalists			306	59,154
Disciples			2	337
Episcopalians			161	26,652
Independent Congregations			4	353
Lutherans: Danish	2	200		
General Council	24	3,767		
General Synod	2	190		
Independent	1	200		
Synodical Conference	8	1,405		
			37	5,762
Methodists: African Methodist Episcopal	4	158		
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	12	1,012		
Methodist Episcopal	219	29,411		
Union American Methodist Episcopal	1	80		
Protestant	3	154		
			239	30,815
Plymouth Brethren			3	16
Presbyterians: General Assembly	7	1,680		
United	1	184		
			8	1,864
Reformed Church			1	150
Salvation Army			6	203
Total			947	149,889

DENOMINATIONS. 2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*	Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Christian Scientists	4	75
Church of the New Jerusalem	1	28
Communistic Societies	1	100
Jews	8	1,621
Mormons	..	8
Spiritualists	19	2,354
Theosophists	1	13
Unitarians	2	179
Universalists	18	2,129
	———	———
Total	54	6,507
All non-Catholic Bodies	1,001	156,396

3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*

Roman Catholics	148	152,945

TOTAL IN NEW ENGLAND.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*

Adventists: Christian	213	10,293		
Evangelical	9	638		
Life and Advent Union	19	683		
Seventh Day	79	1,786		
	———	———		
Armenians			320	13,400
Baptists: Free Will	465	33,122	5	265
Old Two Seed in the Spirit	3	115		
Primitive	4	147		
Regular	943	130,875		
Seventh Day	9	1,374		
Six-Principle	13	719		
	———	———		
Catholics: Apostolic	4	256	1,437	166,352
Reformed	2	250		
	———	———	6	506
Christian Union			8	416
Christadelphians			9	245
Christians			127	9,107
Congregationalists			1,525	229,936
Disciples			18	1,704
Episcopalians: Protestant	522	73,502		
Reformed	2	311		
	———	———	524	73,813
Friends			85	4,394
Independent Congregations			38	2,291
Lutherans: Danish	7	519		
General Council	44	6,678		
General Synod	4	293		
Independent	4	750		
Norwegian Synod (two bodies)	5	725		
Synodical Conference	18	3,122		
	———	———	82	12,087

DENOMINATIONS.			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Evangelical Protestant Bodies—Continued.				
Methodists: African Methodist Episcopal	20	2,095		
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	22	2,137		
African Union Methodist Episcopal	2	94		
Free	1	12		
Methodist Episcopal	1,369	146,570		
Primitive	11	769		
Protestant	3	154		
Union American Methodist Episcopal	2	130		
Wesleyan	7	267		
			1,437	152,228
Plymouth Brethren			30	664
Presbyterians: General Assembly	41	7,249		
General Synod of Reformed	2	165		
Reformed	8	641		
United	12	1,758		
Welsh	6	431		
			71	10,244
Reformed Church			2	212
Salvation Army			32	1,181
Winebrennarians			4	95
Total			5,758	679,140
2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*				
Christian Scientists			22	803
Church of the New Jerusalem			31	2,173
Communistic Societies			10	614
Jews			23	5,076
Mormons			25	1,140
Spiritualists			121	15,049
Theosophists			3	70
Unitarians			254	43,025
Universalists			333	17,632
Total			822	85,582
All non-Catholic Bodies			6,580	764,722
3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*				
Roman Catholics			815	1,004,605

SUMMARY.

1. Evangelical Protestant Bodies	5,758	679,140
2. Other Protestant Bodies	822	85,582
3. The Roman Catholic Church	815	1,004,605
Aggregate	7,395	1,769,327

Such are the exhibits for New England of the United States Census for 1890, tabulated so as to represent the existing condition and drift. The Roman Catholic Church has fifty-

seven per cent, the Evangelical Protestant Churches thirty-eight per cent, and the other Protestant bodies five per cent, of the communicants; and all these combined show that thirty-seven per cent of the total population of these six States are connected with some kind of religious organization. But right here other questions arise which will be considered.

II. We come now to the second phase of our inquiries—the relative status of the Roman Catholic Church in New England. The preceding tables show that this denomination has become very large in the old home of the Puritans; and that it has grown very rapidly during the last forty years is palpable to all. An examination of the following tables will show how it has come to grow with so much rapidity. In the first table we have the official figures of the Roman Catholic bishops, giving their estimates of the whole Roman Catholic population. These are from the Catholic yearbooks:

Year.	Estimated R. C. population.
1850	100,000
1860	......
1870	664,000
1880	911,000
1890	1,367,000

This is an increase in forty years of 1,267,000, and in twenty years of 703,000. Such a gain is evidently too great to be accounted for by the natural preponderance of births over deaths, nor will anyone claim that it comes through the conversion of New Englanders to the Roman Catholic faith.

The next table shows the large infusion of foreign people into New England. We have here, in the first column, the number of people in New England who were born in foreign lands, as reported in each decennial census. The second column includes another foreign increment, those one or both of whose parents were born in foreign lands, usually called foreign "in the second degree." This latter class has been found, in these States, not to vary much from those actually foreign born.

Year.	Foreign born.	Foreign in the first and second degrees.
1850	306,249	612,498
1860	469,350	938,700
1870	648,061	1,296,122
1880	793,612	1,587,224
1890	1,142,432	2,284,864

Those foreign in the third and fourth degrees are not here included. The increase in the Catholic population, according to the estimates of the bishops, and in the foreign population, according to the most trustworthy statistics, is as follows:

	In the Catholic population.	In the foreign population.
1850 to 1890	1,267,000	1,672,366
1880 to 1890	456,000	697,640

The increase of the Roman Catholic population from 1850 to 1890 was seventy-five per cent of the increase of the total foreign elements, and from 1880 to 1890 was sixty-five per cent of the same.

Of course, not all of those of foreign blood are Roman Catholics; but it is an interesting inquiry what part are of Roman Catholic stock. The census for 1880 gives a helpful item. In that year, out of 793,612 foreign born persons in five New England States (Maine was not given in this calculation), 397,164 were born in Ireland, and 376,339 more were children of parents born in Ireland. Probably seven eighths of all these were of Roman Catholic stock. It is well known that French Canadians and Italians constitute two other great elements of New England immigration, all of whom are probably of Roman Catholic stock. It is estimated that about one half of the German immigrants are Roman Catholics, and none of the Scandinavians. It will probably be allowed that five eighths of all the immigrants into these six States are Roman Catholics. Five eighths of the 2,284,864 foreign in the first and second degrees give 1,428,040 who are or should be Roman Catholics, making no account of those foreign in the third, fourth, and fifth degrees, which would carry the figures to considerably over two millions. It has long been a matter of common remark, by Catholics and Protestants alike, that the Roman Catholic Church has lost heavily by transferring her populations to the United States. There has, doubtless, been a considerable loss in New England, and it is well known that there are few Protestant Churches in New England in which there are not some converts from Romanism. It has been estimated that during the last fifty or sixty years not far from one million Roman Catholics have lapsed from that Church in this section or, at least, have ceased to openly adhere to it. As for

ourselves, we raise no question as to the right of any persons to be Roman Catholics, or as to the right of Catholics to do whatever they think it their duty to do religiously for their people. And we are also free to say that, receiving such multitudes from low European conditions, New England is much better off for the discipline exercised over these masses by that Church than it would otherwise have been. It need hardly be said in this connection, however, that grave objections exist, on the part of even the most liberal Protestants of New England, to many matters connected with that Church and its followers.

It is generally known that, according to an old custom, the Roman Catholic Church has given in her yearbooks the statistics of her whole populations, whereas the evangelical Protestant Churches have numbered only their enrolled communicants, usually persons fifteen years of age and upward—by far the greater part twenty years of age and upward. In collecting data for the census of 1890, Dr. Carroll introduced a new feature, with a view to ascertaining the number of Catholic communicants. He says, "According to information received from bishops, it is the custom of the Church for baptized persons to make their first communion between the ages of nine and eleven years." He adds, "Some ecclesiastical authorities estimate that members of this class [under nine years] constitute about fifteen per cent of the population of the Church." Right at this point we notice a serious discrepancy. The Catholic population of New England in 1890, as estimated in their yearbooks, was 1,367,000, and their communicants, as gathered in the United States Census, were 1,004,605, the latter being claimed to be eighty-five per cent of their total population. According to this method of reckoning, the total population should be 1,181,888, instead of 1,367,000, as estimated in the yearbooks for 1890. Reversing the calculation, if the total population is 1,367,000 and the communicants are eighty-five per cent of that number they should be 1,161,950, instead of 1,004,605. The trouble is the want of exact data in either case. Efforts are being made by this Church to perfect and tabulate its statistics with greater exactness, like those of the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and other bodies. This is much to be desired, but their progress in this direction is very slow.

III. Another inquiry has often arisen, in view of the changing conditions of the inhabitants of this section. How are the evangelical Churches competing with the population? Probably in no other part of the country are these Churches under so great a strain to keep abreast with the population. It is a familiar fact that New England is not only a section subject to a large immigration, but is also a great emigrating section. The entire northern belt of the United States as far as the Pacific and, also, some of the Southern States show the impress of New England. About twelve or fifteen years ago an investigation showed that there were then living in the United States outside of New England 600,000 persons who were born in New England—some of its best stock, who had gone forth to build up other States. At the same time there were 800,000 persons in New England who were born in foreign lands, not to speak of those foreign in the second or third degrees. These facts show why the type of New England cities and towns has changed so greatly in the last forty years. This change is still going on, and a similar investigation for 1890 would probably demonstrate that, over against 1,142,432 foreign born persons in New England in that year, we might place 900,000 New England born people living in this country outside of New England. Adding to the foreign born population those foreign in the second degree, we have 2,284,864 foreign in the two degrees, of whom at least 2,000,000 were originally out of Roman Catholic stock. We have not many more to add to reach one half of the total population, which is 4,700,745. Thus, it appears that the Churches of New England have contributed liberally, not only of money, but of their best blood, to build up and evangelize the great West, while at the same time they have found themselves competing at a disadvantage with a rapid increase of population from foreign lands, which has no sympathy with, but rather is hostile to, Protestantism. This, then, is the condition of the field: 1. One quarter of the population by direct immigration is Roman Catholic; 2. Another quarter of the population by extraction is held more or less closely to that Church; 3. One fifth of the native born New Englanders are now living outside of New England; 4. All through the century, while one class has been emigrating from New England territory, another very different class has been

immigrating to it; 5. During this century the New England Churches, sharing largely in the advanced culture of the age, have undergone a purging of old doctrinal forms of statement, and a rehabilitation of theology, "changing, yet unchanged," which is a severe test of their vitality and power of adaptation to the people.

Under such circumstances, what has been the success of the evangelical Churches, and how have they held their ground with the growth of the population? It must be kept in mind that we make the comparison with the whole number of inhabitants, including the Roman Catholics, the foreign born, etc.—all counting over against the Protestant evangelical Churches. The statistics of the communicants of the evangelical Churches, gathered with great care from the official yearbooks or minutes, are our first basis of comparison, and cover the forty years from 1850 to 1890:

Communicants of the Evangelical Churches of New England.

	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Maine..........	72,294	81,275	80,178	86,894	93,099
New Hampshire.	49,632	50,958	50,371	53,518	57,547
Vermont........	44,329	46,334	49,504	55,988	58,078
Massachusetts...	124,899	153,572	175,326	213,288	273,665
Rhode Island ...	18,220	22,732	26,426	33,542	46,862
Connecticut.....	75,710	96,817	107,169	123,934	149,889
Total	385,084	451,688	488,974	567,164	679,140
Population	2,728,116	3,135,283	3,487,924	4,010,436	4,700,745

Inhabitants to One Communicant.

Maine..................	8.07	7.73	7.82	7.48	7.10
New Hampshire........	6.41	6.39	6.31	6.46	6.56
Vermont	7.08	6.80	6.67	5.94	5.71
Massachusetts..........	7.96	8.01	8.31	8.35	8.18
Rhode Island...........	8.09	7.68	8.22	8.24	7.37
Connecticut............	4.89	4.75	5.01	5.02	4.97
Total Average......	7.06	6.94	7.18	7.02	6.93

From the foregoing it appears that Maine gained a little on the population in every decade but one, the war period, from 1860 to 1870. New Hampshire gained on the population until 1870, since which time she has declined a little. Vermont made a slight gain on the population in every decade, though her actual gain was small. Massachusetts lost a little in every decade except the last, in which she gained. Rhode Island fell behind from 1860 to 1880, since which time she has

gained considerably. Connecticut gained a little in the last decade. The total average showed a decline from 1850 to 1870, since which time there has been a little gain. Making a comparison for the forty years, we have the following exhibit:

	Increase of population.	Increase of communicants.
Maine	13 per cent.	28 per cent.
New Hampshire	18 " "	16 " "
Vermont	5 " "	31 " "
Massachusetts	125 " "	119 " "
Rhode Island	134 " "	157 " "
Connecticut	101 " "	98 " "
Average	72 per cent.	76 per cent.

It will be noticed that the competition has been sharper in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut than in the other New England States. And yet it is also true that in some of the other States the native population has actually declined in some decades. The following official table is very impressive, and will throw much light on the whole inquiry:

Percentage of Increase of Native Born.

	1880 to 1890.	1870 to 1880.	1860 to 1870.	1850 to 1860.
Maine	1.34 *	2.08	2.17 *	7.16
New Hampshire	1.16	4.16	5.39 *	0.47
Vermont	1.03 *	2.80	0.37	0.70
Massachusetts	18.08	21.34	13.71	16.91
Rhode Island	18.10	25.06	18.02	10.99
Connecticut	14.20	16.26	11.69	14.20

Percentage of Increase of Foreign Born

Maine	34.10	20.46	30.51	17.68
New Hampshire	56.26	56.34	41.42	46.78
Vermont	7.64	13.14 *	44.02	2.88 *
Massachusetts	48.17	25.52	35.84	58.58
Rhode Island	43.67	33.57	48.14	56.45
Connecticut	41.24	14.39	40.82	109.50

It would be an almost endless task to draw out the comparisons indicated above. We have put the two tables in juxtaposition and ask the reader to make his own comparisons between them. He will then understand and appreciate the keenness of the competition of which we have spoken.

We have now come to a very important part of this investigation. Thus far, the enrolled communicants of the Protestant Churches, consisting almost wholly of adults, have been counted

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* Decrease.

over against the whole Roman Catholic population; for the number of Catholic communicants does not vary much from their entire constituency. Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers, of Scotland, and Rev. Dr. Robert Baird, of New York city, were accustomed, in their investigations, to multiply the communicants of the evangelical Churches by four, in order to ascertain the whole number of their adherents. But the conditions have changed somewhat, and now the multiplier should not exceed three and a half. Adopting this standard, let us first combine the evangelical and the non-evangelical Protestants in the computation. This gives us 2,676,527 as the Protestant population as compared with 1,367,000 claimed in the Roman yearbooks in 1890. These two estimates make 4,043,527, out of a total population of 4,700,745 in New England. Confining our final comparison solely to the evangelical Churches, we find them represented in 1850 by 1,347,894 adherents, and in 1890 by 2,376,990 adherents, an increase in forty years of 1,029,196, which is almost wholly native; while the Roman Catholic population, with its vast foreign accessions, in the same forty years increased 1,267,000, or only 237,804 more than the evangelical population. The Catholic increase is calculated upon estimates or conjectures, and the evangelical population upon registered members. There are many collateral facts and inquiries suggested by these studies upon which we have not entered, because not necessary to our purpose.

Daniel Dorchester

Art. IV.—FUNCTION AND FUTURE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN AFRICA.

This is a subject of double interest: first, because of its missionary value, and, secondly, because of its linguistic importance. The influx of foreigners to the Dark Continent—missionaries and explorers—gives the African tongues greater prominence than ever before, while at the same time it adds to their philological significance. Africa, therefore, furnishes a field for the solution of some of the knottiest problems known to man, linguistic as well as religious. The future can only determine the outcome. Again, the recent caustic criticism of Max Müller's position relative to the science of language, by America's greatest authority, the late Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale, adds new interest to the subject of philology, while it demonstrates beyond contradiction that linguistic science is still in a transition state and that it has not yet reached the status of an exact science. Until this shall take place we may expect differences of opinion in regard to many important philological questions. Whether "the science of language is physical or historical, whether roots constitute a spoken language or are phonetic types that never enter into actual speech, whether isolating languages become agglutinative and agglutinative inflectional, whether dialects precede common language or common language dialects, whether the languages of the world have all been derived from one or two primitive centers or whether they have a diversity of origin,"* all seem still to be matters of dispute. Yet, so far as the writer's own investigations have gone, the unity of language is just as much a settled fact as the unity of the race; and no one can doubt the latter but the most avowed skeptic.

Max Müller is reported to have said, at the meeting of the International Oriental Congress, that scholars eschew the question "whether it is possible to account for the origin of languages, or rather of human speech in general, because it is one to be handled by philosophers rather than by students of language." As plausible as this theory seems to be, a better view to take of the subject would be to regard the science of

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* Sayce, *Science of Language.*

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language as belonging to both philosopher and philologist; for, though the former may not always be a philologist, yet the latter must in a large sense be a philosopher. It is not the object of this paper, however, to settle disputed points of philology, but rather to offer some suggestions as to the probable outcome of foreign languages in Africa. The arguments that follow will be based on the presumption that the order of linguistic development is from the isolating to the agglutinative, from the agglutinative to the inflectional, or the dropping out of existence of present dialects and forms of speech, and the substitution of others of a more advanced character.

It is generally admitted, we believe, that the majority of all the languages known to linguists are for the most part agglutinative in character, or, in other words, that they are nearest the lowest stages of development, if we take root formations as the starting point; and that the inflectional element is represented by only a small proportion of these. If we adopt Professor Sayce's division of the languages of the world and classify the African tongues* accordingly, it will be found that the Hottentot Bushman, with all of its dialects and subdialects, belongs to the agglutinative, isolating, and semi-inflectional groups. The Bantu family, with its numerous dialects, is of the prefix-pronominal class. The Negro group, so far as is known, is agglutinative and isolating. The Nuba Fulah family is also agglutinative. The Hamitic and Semitic families are inflectional. Other scattering African tongues are variously classed as agglutinative, isolating, prefix-pronominal, polysynthetic, semi-inflectional, and inflectional. These divisions are not intended to indicate, because certain families are agglutinative or inflectional, that all are alike in form. Members of the same family differ from one another to a greater or less degree, in proportion to the nearness of kinship. It is generally conceded that languages of the same family pass one from another much more easily and readily than those of different families; for example, the agglutinative to the agglutinative, the isolating to the isolating, the semi-inflectional to the semi-inflectional, the inflectional to the inflectional. In speaking of the changes in language Sayce gives three causes for the same: first, imitation,

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*See also special articles on the languages of Africa in the proceedings of the Ethnological Congress on Africa.

or analogy; secondly, a wish to be clear and emphatic; thirdly, laziness, sometimes referred to as the law of the least effort. Then the same authority adds that, if we choose to go deep enough, we might reduce the three to one—laziness.

This last suggestion should be somewhat modified, as we have numerous examples of peoples and tribes who gave up their native tongue for other reasons than those of laziness. Love of imitation has played an important part in producing linguistic changes; and yet we are forced to believe that necessity is as potent an element in the changes as either imitation, the wish to be emphatic, or the law of the least effort. How far it is true that the Celts of Cornwall, the Wends of Prussia, or the Huns of Bulgaria gave up their own tongue altogether and adopted that of their neighbors simply because of the love of imitation, and that only, is in our opinion an open question. When a pronunciation is once established it remains more or less fixed. When there is a change there is a reason for it, call it what we may. Philologists have noted instances wherein analogy has altered the whole structural complexion of language; and Sayce himself refers to special cases of the same. We give a few examples: the Coptic language was once an affix language, like the Egyptian or the Semitic tongue. It became a prefix language, denoting by prefixes the relations of grammar. This change is thought to be due to the neighboring Berber and cognate dialects. As an illustration of the desire to be clear and emphatic, the Negro Dinka language has been offered as an example. In this tongue the vowel of the singular is lengthened or sharpened to form certain plurals. For example, *ror*, which is the singular for "wood," has *rōr* for a plural; *nom*, "head," has *nim* for its plural; *lib*, "tongue," has *lyep* for its plural; *tut*, "goose," *tuot*, "geese." To form the passive voice of its verbs the "final *i* of the formative elements is lengthened." This "differentiation"* is supposed to be for the sake of clearness. It has been asserted that the origin of the tones in the Chinese language is due largely, if not entirely, to the same cause; and this is probably very near the truth.

The third cause of the change in language, which is attributed to laziness, is not so potential in its influence as the other

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* Sayce.

two, except perhaps among the ruder and more barbarous tribes. That dialects and forms of speech have grown out of it is true; but just how far there is no way of deciding. Dialects seem to be the natural outgrowth of language,* whatever be the causes; for every tongue seems to have its dialects, numerous or otherwise. Among the Basques, whose country has less than a million of people, there are no less than eight principal dialects, with a number of subordinate ones, many of which are said to be mutually unintelligible. Civilization determines the character of a language; and wherever this is wanting dialects for the most part abound, as the tendency in language in its natural state is toward diversity. Intermarriage of peoples of different tribes and nations is frequently the basis of linguistic changes. Various influences may operate to modify one's speech, as, for example, climate. Diversity of pronunciation in the same country may be frequently accounted for through the agency of climate.

If, as has been said by a well-known English philologist, it is among the speakers of the agglutinative or polysynthetic tongues, when brought into contact with inflectional languages, that the difficulty of changing from one family of languages to another is best exemplified, it is by no means easy to state, even approximately, just what will be the outcome of the contact of African tongues with foreign languages. It is evident that the fittest must survive, and that two unlike languages cannot remain together in the same country and in the same community without one's influencing the other. The so-called American Negro dialect is not a fair example of the mixture of tongues. For the negro has been so long removed from his native speech and native influence as to have lost all traces of either. As an outcast in a foreign country he became easily susceptible to whatever linguistic influences were nearest him; and, therefore, without law or order, he garbled up whatever came within reach and made it distinctively his own. Humboldt tells us that the South American Indians find great difficulty in learning Spanish, and this is said to result from an embarrassment arising from the impediment they meet in attempting to use a language so different in structure from their own. The Chinese come to this country with no knowl-

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* This view presupposes that language precedes dialects.

edge of English whatever; but necessity compels them to acquire some knowledge of the language, and they attempt it. The kind of English we have as a result is sometimes styled "Pigeon" English, which is neither English nor Chinese. In fact, the blending of these two tongues is utterly impossible, as they are too unlike in genius and structure. It is well known that in their attempt at pronouncing English the Chinese give the sound of *l* wherever the sound of *r* occurs in our language; and we are informed that the Japanese do exactly the reverse. In a recent article in *Scribner's Magazine* we are told that this people put *r* in the place of every *l*.

The Hawaiian language is a branch of the Malayo-Polynesian type, and contains only five consonants—*k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*—with an aspirate *h*, five vowels, and a vocalic *w*. This is a mere skeleton, as compared with the letters and sounds of our own tongue. One can easily conceive of the difficulty that arises when a native attempts to learn English. Notwithstanding these difficulties efforts will always be made, and there will always be a barbarous and imperfect blending of tongues whenever two or more peoples, distinct, like these, in language and thought, are brought together. As a result there will always be a borrowing of words and phrases, of sounds modified or unmodified, until one yields to the other or one becomes extinct.

The influence of civilization is a mighty lever in shaping the destiny of language. Dialects crumble before it, and the diversity of tongues drifts toward unity. The language of the intelligent must supersede, wholly or in part, that of the unintelligent wherever they come in contact, either by displacing it or fashioning it after its own mold. As the weaker languages and dialects of Europe have disappeared before the light of intelligence, so will the languages and dialects of Africa drop out of existence, one by one, it may be, as the same influence shall quicken and permeate the people. One by one will the stronger swallow up the weak, until the speech of the dominant people shall prevail, jargon first, perhaps, extinction later. Doubtless many more dialects than now exist have passed away, some of them leaving not a relic behind to tell the story of their existence, while of others bare skeletons of speech may be found here and there, but hardly enough to indicate their linguistic relations. The forces that produced these changes are still at work, but in a

greater degree; and, though we can make no definite statement as to the results growing out of the invasion of Africa by foreign languages, yet again we believe that the inflectional will survive the uninflectional languages of the world. No artificial language can stand the test of time. In fact, it will hardly gain a foothold, but, like Volapük, will die in its infancy.

Of European languages the Portuguese seems to have had the *entrée* first and to have first become fixed in an African colony. In Angola,* on the west coast, and Mozambique, on the east, the Portuguese has exerted an influence that has made itself felt, not only upon the natives as a people, but upon the language of the natives. As new ideas sprang up new words were needed to express these ideas; hence, the adoption of new words and expressions of a foreign character. It is said that travelers in the interior have found hundreds of natives who could speak and write Portuguese. Of course, the Portuguese must have undergone some changes and have become corrupted to the extent of receiving the native accent and intonation and the introduction of new words. It is also said that Brazilian immigrants at Lagos speak a corrupted dialect, filtered through America to Africa. Cust mentions a secretary, a native well versed in Portuguese, who had learned it from missionaries. Many of the natives of Ambaka read and write Portuguese; and their children and grandchildren seem to take it up as if it were their own vernacular.† The Spanish colonists in Algeria, Ceuta, and Morocco use the Spanish language, and likewise the inhabitants of the Niger delta. But the Spanish has not made the same progress as the Portuguese. This is certainly not due to any great difference between the two languages, so far as their structural relations are concerned, but rather to the lack of activity on the part of Spanish colonists, missionaries, and explorers in making their linguistic influence felt.

The Dutch language has taken hold on Africa, though in a corrupted form. To use the words of Cust, this language "has undergone considerable dialectal degradation, even among the colonists of whole or half blood; and the form of speech spoken by the Bastards, the Orlam, and the Griqua, as well as by the republican Boers, is very different from the Dutch of Holland, the words being corrupt in form, while there is misappropria-

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* Cust's *Modern Languages of Africa.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 44.

tion of meaning, barbarous modes of expression, and bold defiance of grammar."* The French language and the French people hold sway in large portions of Africa and seem to be on the increase in strength and influence. Even now efforts are being made by the French to secure the republic of Liberia. In French colonies French is the language used, whether pure or corrupt. Senegal and Gabun furnish examples of the influence of this tongue. The French Roman Catholic missionaries are active in the spread of the French language. The Italian is likewise widely diffused, especially on the Mediterranean coast. Like other tongues, it is assaulting the native speech where it is weakest. The Germans are pushing themselves and their language into the interior as far as possible and are determined not to be in the rear. The German authorities have instructed their agents to compile dictionaries of all the native languages spoken in their colonies. The influence and power of these compilations must be the same as those of all similar compilations, and in the end must serve to make the strong stronger and the weak weaker. The influence of missionaries, numerous translations of the Bible in African tongues, and commercial relations must in some way operate in the interest of the foreign languages.

The English language, more powerful than any of its competitors, is vying with its rivals and has made commendable progress wherever English-speaking representatives have found an entrance on African shores. Its influence is felt, not only upon native speech, but upon its rival sister languages as well. In West and South Africa, on the east coast, and in the interior English-speaking missionaries are found in large numbers. In many cases the English is the only medium of communication between native ex-slaves and English-speaking people. Churches, schools, and other agencies for disseminating light and truth dot English-speaking colonies. Cust says:

> Travelers allude to the jargon of Sierra Leone English, and state that the people of Lagos speak a patois of English which closely approximates to Yariba; that the Krumen, so largely employed in English vessels, speak a form of the English language difficult to describe; that the Grebo tribes speak an Anglo-African jargon for purposes of traffic, which is made up of native idioms interwoven with broken English words.†

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* *Modern Languages of Africa*, p. 44.

† *Ibid.*, p. 47. On mixed jargons see Sayce, Whitney, and Max Müller.

Under such circumstances what may be the future speech of the natives remains to be seen. Possibly the native tongue may after a while become extinct and the interloper, in this as in other instances, take complete sway.

Albert S. Gatchet, of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, has on several occasions discussed the nature and peculiarities of the North American languages before the American Philological Association. In his paper on the affinity of the Cherokee to the Iroquois dialects Mr. Gatchet calls attention to the fact that in illiterate languages, like those of the North American Indian, one and the same term may be correctly pronounced in six or ten or twelve different ways, on account of the alternation or permutability of certain sounds. Then he calls attention to a phonetic law by which one may successfully compare vocables belonging to different languages. Suffice it, however, to say that, difficult as the task may seem, some of these Indians have learned to speak English well enough to make themselves understood, notwithstanding the low degree of civilization which they have attained. The Grebos of Africa are very low in the scale of civilization and possess a dialect so rude that, to indicate the person and tense of their verbs, they make use of gesticulations. Yet there is no reason, if these people or their descendants are only brought under proper influence and proper training, why they, too, may not adopt a new tongue totally unlike their own. We may not be able to conceive of such a tongue at present; but the time may, and we believe will, come when even the Grebo dialect will become extinct and when the people themselves will adopt a new tongue and become, through the power of the Gospel, a new nation in character and language.

We know the law of history, that a conquered nation always forsakes its own tongue for that of the conquerors when the latter are superior in civilization. The Celts who lived in Gaul in the time of Cæsar's invasion did so. On the other hand, when the Germans later invaded the same country they forsook their own speech for that of the conquered but more civilized foe. In Africa we find few armies, as a rule, to enforce the acceptance of any language. Then, too, such armies as there are include a large native contingent. But we do find, in every instance where a foreign tongue has been effectually introduced by an army, that the latter has been superior in civilization to

the natives. In Africa, besides, there are no contending classes among the foreign element—an upper and a lower—bringing in two dialects, a literary and a common one, and so lengthening the period before either the native or the foreign must inevitably perish. Missionary and similar efforts, affecting commercial and social relations, make the crystallization of anything that can be called a permanent form of speech likely, from another standpoint, to be extremely slow. The native character in its varied phases is to be considered, as also the fact that the assaults upon the native dialects, though many and from various points and oft repeated, are not delivered with a force determined to conquer, as in the instances we have mentioned. Christianity modifies all warfare, whether it be that of arms or of tongues; and so long as it is not the sole purpose, except in a few instances, to subdue the native tribes, we may expect any movement of change to be one of no very great rapidity.

If we take a still broader and more comprehensive view of language and its influence in all foreign countries to-day we may see the creeping movement of some toward a more universal use than others. While we are not prepared with statistics, we state on the authority of others that the English tongue is gaining a foothold over all others. Be this as it may, the very idea suggests a new difficulty—another knot in the problem before us. If the foreign languages in Africa do so influence the native speech that out of the two grows another new tongue, what influence will these foreign tongues have upon each other during this transformation? Shall we have a new set of dialects or of tongues, which in turn will be called upon to coalesce in their future history by conquering armies, as instanced in the birth of the French language; or will there be such a radical change as to cause existing native tongues to drop out of existence and the almost bodily adoption of the most powerful of the foreign languages?

If one can be said to reach a conclusion in what, from present data, must be largely looked upon as an inconclusive discussion, we may hazard the prediction from what we have before us, judging the present by the past, as to the history of peoples and the history of language, that there will come a day in the march of civilization through the Dark Continent when the agglutinative tongues of the natives, with others, will yield to

the more powerful inflectional tongues of foreigners; that the former will become extinct as such, new languages being built up, modified, as in the past, according to all the rules we know to have affected the changing speech of mankind—by necessities, environments, and the strength of the characteristics residing in the peculiar native sounds; and that the areas of these new tongues will in turn be enlarged by conflict and conquest among themselves. In short, the partition of Africa among the nations of the earth has brought this powerful factor of language as a compelling force in all the movements. Africa, on its way to a higher civilization, must and shall tread in the footsteps of Europe, only that the onward march will be a more vigorous and attractive one, lighted up by the arts and sciences of the present high civilization of the intruding powers which have transferred their tongues to its shores; and so, at length, the ancient glory of this continent, so long asleep, shall return to it with all this added modern splendor, so that it shall vie with America, the two being the greatest theaters of future events, as the trend of the present flow of immigration, on the one hand, to America, and, on the other, of conquest and new possession in Africa, would clearly indicate.

W. S. Scarborough.

ART. V.—OUR MEN AND WOMEN: MAY, 1892, AND BEYOND—AN IRENICON.

IN a former paper we passed in review a few of the salient facts in our Church history illustrative of the status and activities of women, and then examined with care the action of the General Conference in 1888. It remains to review with like care the not less noted action of the year 1892, and then to inquire whether there be not a more excellent way to the attainment of harmony in sentiment and action than has as yet been adopted. In investigating the action of 1892 we shall find it conducive to clearness to resume the time-honored method of legal inquisition by question and answer. It will also facilitate reference if we continue the numerical series instead of beginning a new one.

41. Why was it proper for the General Conference to reopen the question of eligibility of women? Because by memorials and resolutions new action was asked for by influential representatives of the majority both of the ministry and laity of the Church.

42. What emphasized this obvious propriety? The fact that at the last session the General Conference had expressed a desire to hear from the Church; and now the Church, having shown its sentiments, desired to hear from the General Conference.

43. In order to intelligent new action of any kind, what needed to be settled beyond all controversy? The precise legal effect of the unprecedented action of 1888 and of the later action of the Annual Conference membership.

44. What resolution, adapted to effect this end in the most orderly and appropriate way, was referred to the Judiciary Committee? The following:

> *Whereas*, A number of women were chosen by Quarterly Conferences as lay delegates to the Lay Electoral Conferences, and the Lay Electoral Conferences so constituted have elected lay delegates to this General Conference; [and,] *Whereas*, The names of two women appear upon the rolls of this Conference as reserve lay delegates; therefore, *Resolved*, That the Committee on Judiciary be, and hereby is, instructed to inquire and report at an early day, not later than May 20, whether the terms "lay delegates," "laymen," and "member of the Church in full con-

nection," as used in paragraphs 55 to 63 inclusive, express or imply distinction of sex.

45. What was the full report of the Committee? The following:

Understanding that we are to declare the meaning of the words, and not to express an opinion as to the wisdom of the law, and applying the well recognized rule of construction, that the intent of the lawmakers in using the language must govern, and that the meaning to be put upon the words by us must be the meaning put upon them by the General Conference and the Annual Conferences at the time they were adopted, and in the light of the history of the Church bearing upon the subject up to the time of the adoption of the provisions in which the words under consideration occur, and in the light of the discussions had at the time of their adoption, and of all the surrounding circumstances, and in view of the fact that the last General Conference, acting in its judicial capacity, after a very exhaustive discussion, definitely decided that women were not included in these provisions, and that the Annual Conferences and the Church have accepted and acted upon that decision, we are of the opinion that said words, as used in the paragraphs aforesaid, do not apply to both sexes, and that they include men only.

46. Was the report adopted? No. Dr. D. H. Moore, a member of the Judiciary Committee, presented the substitute reprinted farther on. Then, to give the whole remaining process in the exact language of the official record,

J. W. Hamilton presented an amendment to the substitute. W. I. Cogshall called for the previous question, which was ordered. Amos Shinkle, a layman, called for a separate vote on the substitute and its amendment. J. B. Faulks moved to lay the amendment to the substitute on the table, which did not prevail by a vote of 172 to 226. The question of a separate vote being taken by the laymen, it was not sustained. The amendment to the substitute was adopted by a vote of 234 to 174. A. B. Leonard moved that the question be divided at the point where the substitute ends and the amendment thereto begins, which was ordered by a vote of 206 to 169. A. B. Leonard moved to lay on the table the first part of the amended substitute, being the paper of D. H. Moore, which was carried by a vote of 280 to 100. The question being put on the second part of the substitute as amended, G. H. Bridgman, a ministerial delegate, called for a separate vote. The question of a separate vote being put to the ministerial delegates, 77 sustained the call. A count being made of all the ministerial delegates present, there were found present 289, and the separate vote was not ordered. The substitute was then accepted. On the question of the adoption of the second part of the substitute, it was adopted by 241 to 160.*

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* *Journal of the General Conference of* 1892, p. 359.

47. What did the highest court in the Church assume when it directed its Judiciary Committee to inquire into the meaning of the term "lay delegates," and especially when it entertained the report and arguments of the majority of said committee? It manifestly assumed that the meaning of the law on this subject was legitimately open to question and in need of clearer determination.

48. What would have been the effect had the report of the Judiciary Committee been adopted? It would have settled beyond all legitimate question the meaning of the law, and in a sense adverse to the eligibility of women.

49. What was the effect of the entire omission to adopt the report and the actual adoption of Dr. Hamilton's paper? By this course the General Conference left the main question still open; and so it must remain until the completion of the voting authorized.

50. What was the use of the fifth resolution in the paper adopted? It was of no use so long as the paper was attached to the Moore substitute as an amendment.

51. Would it not have been better tactics in the majority to have laid it on the table instead of the Moore paper—that is, if all voters had been clear as to their bearings? Undoubtedly, since then the parallel between the new action and that of 1888 would have been complete in form as well as force. Several of the friends of woman's eligibility voted, or withheld their votes, in accordance with this view.

52. What, then, is the difference between the act of 1888 and that of 1892. Simply this: to its referendum the former prefixes, while the latter postfixes, a construction of the law, a construction that must govern in future elections in case the proposed amendment fails. If, therefore, the action of the former year was defensible, that of the latter year was defensible. If the action of 1892 was a burlesque on all right judicial procedures, no less can be said of the action of 1888. The one cannot be repudiated and the other defended. Their order in time alone constitutes a real distinction. The one was an original, the other a copy, slightly modified in form, but not in principle. Whoever, therefore, feels called upon sternly to reprobate the principle common to them both should remember that in manifest fairness we should direct our reprobation

primarily and chiefly toward the unprecedented act at New York rather than toward the precedented one at Omaha.

At this point it will serve a useful purpose to present in parallel columns, stage by stage, the essential agreements and the comparatively unimportant variations of these two famous actions—probably the two most peculiarly related inversions of proper legal processes to be found in the whole history of Christian jurisprudence, ecclesiastical or civil. We will call the thence arising conspectus

A BINOCULAR VIEW.

1888.	1892.
1. In consequence of the election of women during several quadrenniums as reserve delegates, and at last, also, as regular delegates to the General Conference of 1888, and in view of a certain protest against the latter action, the question of the eligibility of women under the existing law was raised by the bishops.	1. In consequence of the renewed election of women as reserve delegates, and in view of weighty memorials and petitions, and also in view of the ministerial and lay majorities just given in the Church at large in favor of impartial eligibility, the General Conference of 1892 renewed the bishops' question.
2. Taking into account the conscientious convictions of the bishops and the formal protest addressed to them, one can hardly see how they could have done otherwise.	2. Taking into account the conscientious convictions of the General Conference and the credentials and memorials addressed to it, one can hardly see how it could have done otherwise.
3. The elections challenged by the bishops were referred to a special committee, seventeen in number, appointed by the bishops.	3. The eligibility question, renewed by the Conference, was referred to the Judiciary Committee, fifteen in number, nominated by the bishops.
4. The committee reported adversely to the eligibility of women.	4. The committee reported adversely to the eligibility of women.
5. According to our uniform usage and under our unwritten constitution, a decisive vote of the General Conference, sitting exclusively in its supreme judicial capacity, either adopting or rejecting the report of the committee, would have been entitled to full acceptance by all parties as legally and properly settling the due interpretation of the law for the time, and also as	5. According to our uniform usage and under our unwritten constitution, a decisive vote of the General Conference, sitting exclusively in its supreme judicial capacity, either adopting or rejecting the report of the committee, would have been entitled to full acceptance by all parties as legally and properly settling the due interpretation of the law for the time, and also as

1888.	1892.
determining the proper course for all future Electoral Conferences to pursue until further legitimate constitutional action, legislative or judicial, relative thereto.	determining the proper course for all future Electoral Conferences to pursue until further legitimate constitutional action, legislative or judicial, relative thereto.
6. The report, as presented, was not put to vote. How many would have supported it, had a vote been taken, can never be known.	6. The report, as presented, was not put to vote. How many would have supported it, had a vote been taken, can never be known.
7. Pending the consideration of the report a motion was made to "consult the Church generally in such an important matter," and to do this by "submitting" an amendment to the second restrictive rule in such form that, in case it should be carried by the required majorities, the eligibility of women would be unequivocally expressed in our universally acknowledged written constitutional law.	7. Pending the consideration of the report, and of the Moore substitute therefor, in order renewedly to "consult the Church," a motion was made to "submit" an amendment to the second restrictive rule in such form that, in case it should be carried by the required majorities, the ineligibility of women would be unequivocally expressed in our universally acknowledged written constitutional law.
8. The advocates of the eligibility of women desired no change in the restrictive rule, such as was proposed, but only an authoritative judicial interpretation of the term "lay delegates" in conformity with the meaning hitherto uniformly acted on in the Church, so far as any action had been taken.	8. The advocates of the ineligibility of women desired no change in the restrictive rule, such as was proposed, but only an authoritative judicial interpretation of the term "lay delegates" in conformity with the meaning provisionally established for it by the action of the General Conference of 1888.
9. Nevertheless, the form of the proposed amendment was just the one that the advocates of the eligibility of women would have chosen had they desired to put their understanding of the law into the written constitution in unequivocal terms.	9. Nevertheless, the form of the proposed amendment was just the one that the advocates of the ineligibility of women would have chosen had they desired to put their understanding of the law into the written constitution in unequivocal terms.
10. The mover (Dr. Neely) did not intend to vote for the constitutional amendment proposed by him; but he did desire to give his opponents time and a chance to appeal to the Church in an effort constitutionally to enact their view.	10. The mover (Dr. Hamilton) did not intend to vote for the constitutional amendment proposed by him; but he did desire to give his opponents time and a chance to appeal to the Church in an effort constitutionally to enact their view.
11. The first decisive vote reached was on the acceptance of the Neely	11. The first decisive vote reached was on the acceptance of the Hamil-

1888.

amendment. By a majority of 249 to 173 it was accepted. This clearly implied a disposition to hinge the final settlement of the controversy, not upon a judicial declaration representing merely a majority of the Conference, but rather upon the issue of an appeal to the Church in the form of a constitution-amending vote.

12. After the acceptance of the Neely amendment the amended paper read as follows: "*Whereas*, After serious consideration and a free discussion for several hours they [the Special Committee of Seventeen] are convinced that, under the second restrictive rule, which was altered by the constitutional process, the Church contemplated the admission of men only as lay representatives; and that as it has never been consulted or expressed its desire upon the admission of women to the General Conference, they are compelled to report for adoption the following resolutions: (1) That under the constitution and laws of the Church as they now are women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference; (2) That the protest referred to this committee against the seating of Amanda G. Rippey, from the Kansas; Mary G. Nind, from the Minnesota; Angie F. Newman, from the Nebraska; Lizzie D. Van Kirk, from the Pittsburg; and Frances E. Willard, from the Rock River Conference, is sustained by the Discipline; and therefore they cannot legally be admitted to seats; (3) That the secretary of the General Conference shall notify the legally elected reserve delegates from these Conferences that the seats herein referred to are vacant; *But since there*

1892.

ton amendment. By a majority of 234 to 174 it was accepted. This clearly implied a disposition to hinge the final settlement of the controversy, not upon a judicial declaration representing merely a majority of the Conference, but rather upon the issue of an appeal to the Church in the form of a constitution-amending vote.

12. After the acceptance of the Hamilton amendment the amended paper read as follows: "*Whereas*, It is conceded that only the principle—not the plan—of lay delegation was submitted to the Annual Conferences by the action of the General Conference of 1868, and was, by the concurrent action of the Annual Conferences and the General Conference, incorporated into the second restrictive rule; and, *Whereas*, The plan by which the principle was made operative was the action of the General Conference alone, and is therefore statutory, and not constitutional, and is subject to amendment and interpretation by this body; and, *Whereas*, The General Conference of 1872 exercised this right of interpretation (see *Journal*, page 443); and, *Whereas*, A decided majority both of the laity and ministry has declared in favor of the eligibility of women as members of the Lay Electoral and General Conferences, therefore, *Resolved*, That the General Conference holds that in all matters connected with the election of lay delegates the word 'laymen' ought to be understood, and must of right be understood to include all the members of the Church who are not members or presidents of the Annual Conferences; [But] *Whereas. The claim is made by the*

1888.

is great interest in this question, and since the Church generally should be consulted in regard to such an important matter, therefore, *Resolved*, That we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposition to amend the second restrictive rule by adding the words, 'and said delegates may be men or women,' after the words, 'two lay delegates for an Annual Conference;' so that it will read, 'Nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates may be men or women.'"

[The above paper of 1888 is here printed as one sentence, for the reason that, as adopted, it constituted one proposition, whose division the majority refused to permit, and for or against which, as an indivisible unit, every member had to give his aye or no. The paper in the opposite column is printed in the same way, although it later was divided. In each case the beginning of the amendment is marked by the use of italics to distinguish its preamble. In the paper of 1892 I have introduced in brackets the word "but," as the author of the matter following it undoubtedly would have done had he prepared it as an amendment to Dr. Moore's paper, instead of as a substitute for the committee's report. These merely clerical or editorial features of the present reprint cannot possibly mislead, first, because the natural and only self-consistent legal interpretation of the text demands them, and, second, because the reader is duly notified of them in equally prominent type alongside the documents. A far more serious liberty was that taken by the official daily organ of

1892.

Judiciary Committee of the General Conference that women are now ineligible to membership in the Lay Electoral and General Conferences, therefore, *Resolved*, (1) That we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposition to amend the second restrictive rule by adding the words, 'and said delegates must be male members,' after the words, 'two lay delegates for an Annual Conference,' so that it will read: 'Nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates must be male members;' (2) That this proposition be submitted to the Annual Conferences held during the autumn of 1895 and the spring of 1896; (3) That in the month of October or November, 1894, there shall be held in every place of public worship of the Methodist Episcopal Church an election, at which every member in full connection who is not less than twenty-one years of age shall be permitted to vote upon the following proposition: 'Shall the second restrictive rule be amended by adding the words, 'and said delegates must be male members,' after the words, 'two lay delegates for an Annual Conference,' so that it will read, 'Nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates must be male members;' (4) That said election shall be held under the direction of the preacher in charge and two laymen, who shall be chosen by the Quarterly Conference or Official Board, or in case they fail to elect, then by the voters present at the hour of opening of such election, who shall superintend the details of the election, and within ten days thereafter shall report the result of

1888.	1892.
the General Conference when, without notice or explanation, it suppressed the duly adopted preamble of the Neely amendment, and printed the remainder as a "fourth" resolution of the Committee's report. This mutilated and re-numbered document appears to have misled the editor of one of our Church papers, for in a recent criticism of the first part of this *irenicon* he reproduces it as the true and complete form of the action of the General Conference.]	the election to the presiding elder of the district, who shall report the same to the presiding bishop of the next Annual Conference, to be canvassed by the Conference and entered upon the Conference journal; *provided,* that in the case of the failure of the preacher in charge to be present at such election the same may be held in his absence. That public notice of said election shall be given by the preacher in charge to each congregation at least twice during the thirty days preceding the election on the occasion of public preaching, whether on the Sabbath or on week days, in the church or other place where he preaches, with seven or more days intervening between notices; (5) That if the amendment so submitted does not receive the votes of three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences and two thirds of the General Conference the second restrictive rule shall be so construed that the words 'lay delegates' may include men and women, and thus be in harmony with the legislation of previous General Conferences."
13. A well-known friend of the eligibility of women moved a division of the question; but on the motion of a well-known opponent of the cause the motion for a division was laid on the table.	13. A well-known friend of the eligibility of women moved and carried a division of the paper at the point where the amendment began; and on motion of the same friend the first part was laid on the table.
14. The then ensuing all-determining (aye and no) vote left women ineligible to the next General Conference, and thereafter, unless the constitutional amendment "submitted" should receive the votes of three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences and of two thirds of the members of the next General Conference.	14. The then ensuing all-determining (rising) vote left women eligible to the next General Conference, and thereafter, unless the constitutional amendment "submitted" should receive the votes of three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences and of two thirds of the members of the next General Conference.

1888.	1892.
15. The total action was one of unusual interest to all students of our constitutional history, especially to all who in the interest of conservatism favor a permanent limitation of the present constitutionally unlimited judicial powers of a General Conference majority, from the fact that in this instance, before giving any force present or prospective to a pending construction of the law, the General Conference voluntarily connected with it a provision for consulting the Church generally.	15. The total action was one of unusual interest to all students of our constitutional history, especially to all who in the interest of conservatism favor a permanent limitation of the present constitutionally unlimited judicial powers of a General Conference majority, from the fact that in this instance, before giving any force present or prospective to a pending construction of the law, the General Conference voluntarily connected with it a provision for consulting the Church generally.
16. Provision was subsequently made for consulting the laity by a plebiscite, and, as always since the first instance, without discrimination in suffrage on the ground of sex.	16. Provision was simultaneously made for consulting the laity by a plebiscite, and, as always since the first instance, without discrimination in suffrage on the ground of sex.
17. Nothing in the total action provided a way in which, in the proposed consulting of the traveling elders and the laity, expression could be given to the sentiments of those who believe that, of right, women should be eligible to the Electoral Conferences, where they may have a voice in the selection of the lawmakers who are to regulate the various forms of woman's work in the Church, but who hold that women are scripturally or otherwise ineligible to the office of lawmakers in the General Conference.	17. Nothing in the total action provided a way in which, in the proposed consulting of the traveling elders and the laity, expression could be given to the sentiments of those who believe that, of right, women should be eligible to the Electoral Conferences, where they may have a voice in the selection of the lawmakers who are to regulate the various forms of woman's work in the Church, but who hold that women are scripturally or otherwise ineligible to the office of lawmakers in the General Conference.
18. Nothing in the total action of 1888 barred the next General Conference, or any subsequent one, from judicially reviewing the action and pronouncing for or against its legality.	18. Nothing in the total action of 1892 barred the next General Conference, or any subsequent one, from judicially reviewing the action and pronouncing for or against its legality.
19. If in its desire to "consult the Church" the General Conference had set forth an interpretation of the law with a provision that it should govern in future elections in case it were first approved by vote	19. If in its desire to "consult the Church" the General Conference had set forth an interpretation of the law with a provision that it should govern in future elections in case it were first approved by vote

1888.	1892.
of a majority of the members of the Annual Conferences, such action would have been unprecedented, it is true, but viewed as a prudential peace measure it would have been defensible as conservative, straightforward, and according to the analogy of all *legislative* referenda.	of a majority of the members of the Annual Conferences, such action would have been unprecedented, it is true, but viewed as a prudential peace measure it would have been defensible as conservative, straightforward, and according to the analogy of all *legislative* referenda.
20. Instead of this the General Conference set forth an interpretation that should govern in future elections in case three fourths of the Annual Conference membership and two thirds of the next General Conference should fail to approve a submitted constitutional amendment of precisely contrary effect.	20. Instead of this the General Conference set forth an interpretation that should govern in future elections in case three fourths of the Annual Conference membership and two thirds of the next General Conference should fail to approve a submitted constitutional amendment of precisely contrary effect.
21. The indirect and inverted form of this referendum became a fruitful source of misunderstandings. This was only natural, for while the abstention of the majority from peremptorily settling the whole issue by a single exercise of its own supreme judicial authority could be ascribed to pure magnanimity, it was equally possible to describe the total action as an ingenious scheme, invented to accomplish by indirection what the majority feared they could not carry by a fair and square vote of the General Conference in a strictly judicial action, and what they feared they could not carry in the form of a constitutional amendment that should directly express their view.	21. The indirect and inverted form of this referendum became a fruitful source of misunderstandings. This was only natural, for while the abstention of the majority from peremptorily settling the whole issue by a single exercise of its own supreme judicial authority could be ascribed to pure magnanimity, it was equally possible to describe the total action as an ingenious scheme, invented to accomplish by indirection what the majority feared they could not carry by a fair and square vote of the General Conference in a strictly judicial action, and what they feared they could not carry in the form of a constitutional amendment that should directly express their view.
22. As they believed they had a right to do, the majority honestly considered the total action a self-evident manifestation of their self-restraint and generosity—an act as noble and praiseworthy as it was unprecedented.	22. As they believed they had a right to do, the majority honestly considered the total action a self-evident manifestation of their self-restraint and generosity—an act noble and praiseworthy beyond all precedent save one.
23. As they believed they had a right to do a minority honestly considered the total action to be a	23. As they believed they had a right to do, a minority honestly considered the total action to be a

1888.	1892.
triumph of party strategy, a clever method of accomplishing by indirection a betrayal of sacred interests.	triumph of party strategy, a clever method of accomplishing by indirection a betrayal of sacred interests.

The foregoing parallel is as instructive as it is curious. Especially helpful will it be to the hundreds in our ministry and to the thousands in our laity who have come into their present relation to the Church since 1888, and to the still greater multitude who only within the past four or five years have begun to take interest in the study of our constitutional law and its history. Great numbers even of our preachers and official laymen have never seen a copy of the *Journal* of a General Conference, nor do they know that such *Journals* are in print and purchasable. Familiar as may be the above-quoted official documents to the eyes of two or three hundred of the subscribers to the *Methodist Review*, the percentage of its readers who could intelligently explain the difference between the two senses in which the term "the Neely amendment" is used is lamentably small. Yet it is precisely to the pastors and official members that the millions of our membership must look for information if there is to be any intelligent voting in the elections that the General Conference has ordered and that are now taking place. Might not the Book Concern, or some wealthy friend of intelligent suffrage, render the Church an important service by reprinting, for widest possible distribution, this concise comparative view of the two historic acts that have created the present situation and all its embarrassments?

As already seen, under Question 52 and elsewhere, the majority of 1888 and the majority of 1892 are in a common boat. There is no room for criminations and recriminations. In the latter year the mistake of 1888 simply returned to embarrass its authors. The party victorious at New York and the party victorious at Omaha should now good-humoredly shake hands over the drawn game, mutually forgive, and make a new beginning. And this time, as ever, the aim should be, not to find a way in which one set of honest and conscientious Christian brothers can get a victory over another, but rather to discover the things in which all honest and conscientious Christian brothers can agree. The present moment I deem a propitious

one for an irenic endeavor of this kind. No large number in the Church are satisfied with the present situation or are very proud of the party moves that have created it. No one expects a satisfactory solution of the problem from the elections about to be held. Some new and pacificatory proposition is exigently demanded.

In venturing, in the interest of brotherly harmony, to propose a new constitutional amendment I am but renewing a mediatorial office reluctantly undertaken as long ago as 1891. In that year I was publicly called upon to show my sentiments touching this whole matter. This I did in a series of six articles, entitled, "The Status of Men and Women in the Methodist Episcopal Church." These articles were printed in *The Christian Advocate* of New York, in the *Western Christian Advocate*, and in part reproduced in other journals of the Church. In them I discussed the subject, not in the one-sided manner of those who deal with it merely as the problem of a single sex, but rather as the apostle dealt with it when he wrote, "Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord." As just at that time the tension of the parties in controversy was at its height, I counted it a most gratifying evidence of the truth and balance and fairness of the views set forth that, among all the tens of thousands of readers before whom these articles were spread, not one conservative, and not one radical, ever sent me by letter, or in printed form, one word in dissent from my central positions. As long ago as last January I reprinted the substance of the same articles in an Appendix to my little book, *Constitutional Law Questions Now Pending;* and again I have been gratified to find that not one reviewer whose notice has reached me has dissented in the least from the positions therein laid down as true, fair, and apostolic. At Omaha I voted with the majority, not because I liked the action that then prevailed, but because I deemed it the least harmful of the three evils to which the premature adoption of the "previous question" had restricted us. That action I have never intentionally defended, except in the interest of fair play and just judgment as between the majority of 1888 and the majority of 1892.

My own idea of the true solution, both before and at the time —as Dr. Hamilton with his characteristic manliness has pub-

licly stated—was very different. It was set forth just before I started for Omaha in an earnest *irenicon* addressed to the opponents of woman's eligibility, and entitled "An Easter Offering." * In that appeal I made fraternal overtures for harmony and, to promote this object, submitted a definite proposition based upon the principles which in the serial articles had seemed so acceptable to both parties. In so doing I by no means assumed that harmony could be had only by accepting my particular proposition; on the contrary, I earnestly requested others, on their part, to propose whatever from their point of view seemed to promise the earliest and most satisfactory solution. Unfortunately for the peace of the Church, neither my proposal nor the generous motion of Dr. Potts to submit for a second time Dr. Neely's amendment to the second restrictive rule found the least response on the side of the party addressed, and as a consequence events took the course they did. The report of the Judiciary Committee represented the *ultimatum* of the uncompromising conservatives, the Moore resolution the *ultimatum* of the uncompromising radicals. Neither was satisfactory to the majority of the Conference; and as the Hamilton paper gave time for further deliberation and, like the original Neely amendment, recognized that in so important a matter the decision should not rest with a chance majority of the General Conference, it was adopted and further time allowed. In the discussions that have since been had new light has come to many minds; and if I am not mistaken the way has been prepared for some measure less open to reasonable criticism.

Without longer waiting for others to take the initiative, and nothing daunted by the fruitlessness of my former overture, I here and now venture to express the hope that, some time before the next General Conference, the members of some strong and just and influential Conference will adopt and send around to their brethren of the other Conferences the following proposed addition to the second restrictive rule, to wit: "Women, duly qualified, may be chosen as lay delegates by any Electoral Conference the male members of which, by a two-thirds vote, have declared their judgment and desire that women should be eligible; provided, that in no case more than one half of the delegation or reserve delegation shall be women."

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* See *Zion's Herald*, April 21, 1892, and the *Daily Christian Advocate*, May 3, 1892.

For lack of space I cannot here amplify and support this proposition as it deserves. The candid reader, however, will quickly note its five salient points and their adaptation to harmonize reasonably progressive and reasonably conservative minds: (1) the plan provides for the eligibility of legally qualified women; but (2) never unless the men of the Electoral Conference electing have formally declared it their judgment and desire that women should be eligible; and (3) never unless the majority of the men desiring it amounts to two thirds of the whole number present and voting;* and (4) never in numbers exceeding one half of the delegation and reserve delegation of the electing Lay Electoral Conference; and (5) the method proposed for embodying all these provisions in our fundamental law is one respecting whose regularity and fairness there can be no question. Taken together, they promise a safe and equitable solution of all our embarrassing difficulties by a simple application of the principle of option on the part of those unquestionably entitled to personal choice, within the legal limits, in the selection of their representatives.

In placing the foregoing proposal before the Church I am perfectly well aware of the risks I run. Nobody that has been active for or against the old party measures will be satisfied either with my history of the past or with my suggestion for the future. Neither radical nor conservative wants what my amendment proposes. On both sides its provisions easily lend themselves to partisan attack in argument and in ridicule. Within two weeks from the time of its publication it will very likely be possible for the editors of the Church papers to kill every prospect of its success. If that shall be the result of my anxious and prayerful appeal to the fair-mindedness of the Church I shall not indulge in self-reproach. I shall have been faithful to my own conceptions of duty, and shall not envy any man the responsibility of having successfully opposed a measure at once reasonable and timely, proposed solely in the interest of brotherly harmony.

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*I have made this majority thus high for the reason that I desire to approach my more conservative brethren in a spirit manifestly generous. If they shall feel inclined to respond in a like spirit, it is possible that they will call two thirds excessive, and will insist that any majority of the men of an Electoral Conference present and voting should suffice; particularly as, according to the facts fully rehearsed in this *irenicon*, no General Conference has ever as yet judicially decided in any perfectly legitimate and defensible way that under the existing constitution and laws women are not already as eligible as men.

Of course, some uncompromising ultra-radical is afire with eagerness to tell my readers that all compromises are necessarily illogical; that of all compromises yet imagined this one, with its invariable location of the all-deciding option in the hands of men, would most of all sin against the equal rights of men and women in the Church of God, etc. But wherefore, my brother, should we get warm? If all this is so clear and pertinent, why be in such haste to point it out? Let us take a moment or two for sober thought. Do "equal rights" necessarily mean identical responsibilities and duties? You cannot maintain that. If in the home the father and mother have equal rights in the children, they have not identical duties and functions with respect to them. With men and women in the Christian State and in the Christian Church the same is true. Young as is Christian sociology as a science, it has got forever past the "equality" of the French Revolution. It has reached one generalization that is at once a law of nature and a law of God. It is that "in all normal and useful cooperations of equal men and women the initiative must be with the man or with men, the consummation with the woman or with women."* Our proposed amendment is in exact accordance with this law. It assumes the fact, grounded alike in history and in human nature, that the relations of equal men and women to the *economia* of the Church are not identical or even interchangeable. It places the initiative and the responsibility of the initiative precisely where in all similar cases God has placed them, to wit, in the hands of the men. Any doctrine of equal rights that canno adjust itself to the most fundamental law of human society is as shallow and groundless as the Jacobinism out of which it is borrowed.

Here, on the other hand, is an equally ardent despiser and rejecter of all compromises, the uncompromising ultra-conservative. He, too, is impatient for a chance to pillory my proposal. In his eyes the admission of one woman to the General Conference, though occurring but once in a hundred years, and by the unanimous choice of all the men in the universe, would ruin everything; the principle that men have an exclusive divine right to govern the Church would be as truly violated as by the adoption of the Moore resolutions, and without the

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*See *Constitutional Law Questions Now Pending*, pp. 191-200.

apparent equity and big-heartedness of that radical measure. As between the new proposition and the Moore resolution very likely the good brother is ready to declare his preference for the latter. Let me beg him also to take a little time to think before rushing into print with suggestions so cheap and commonplace. Let him turn back his files of cherished arguments on his own side of the question and reread Professor Curtis's profound paper on "St. Paul's Principle of Man's Primacy," printed in *Zion's Herald* June 3, 1891. That paper the Church has recognized as the ablest and deepest and truest discussion of its theme yet produced. The stanchest conservatives have referred to it as unanswerable, as indeed it is. They have rejoiced in it the more because written in radical Boston, and by a theological professor all of whose colleagues were favorable to woman's eligibility. In that rejoicing I myself have fully shared. I urged its original publication. And why? Because my beloved colleague and former pupil showed so well the possibility of intense personal conviction in a truly judicial mind, showed so well how to do fullest justice to one truth without ignoring or denying its counterpart. No man has more powerfully emphasized the primacy of man according to inspiration and the harmful ignoring of this primacy by superficial popular writers on the "rights" of women. But at the end of his discussion what is his conclusion? This:

> As to the admission of women into the General Conference, my conclusion, based upon the preceding discussion, is as follows: (1) Church government is not a matter of precise divine specification, and yet it must be in harmony with the Scripture principle of man's primacy. . . . (2) As a matter of mere theory the admission of women into the General Conference would not necessarily violate the principle of man's primacy. If women enter the General Conference, not as a matter of seeking, but at the desire of the Church, for the general good of the Church, and if they were members of the Conference in such a way that all ultimate decision rested with the men, St. Paul's principle would, it seems to me, be intact.

There spoke a conservative who is not one-eyed, a conservative after my own heart. What he wrote helped one party; but it helped at once and equally the other also. Whether my proposition will meet his approval I know not; but its author believes it to answer all the conditions prescribed. If under its provisions any woman ever enters the General Conference it will be, "not as a matter of seeking, but at the desire of the

Church, for the general good of the Church;" and she will be a member of the Conference in such a way that all "ultimate decision" as to her return will be in the hands of the men of the Church. By what other measure can the conservative hope so definitely, and expressly, and instructively, to commit the Church to the perpetual recognition of man's primacy, as taught by the apostle Paul?

What I propose, then, is no compromise of principles, radical or conservative. It is rather a coordination and just harmonizing of principles mistakenly and too long arrayed against each other. In its support I appeal to the broad-minded and the fair-minded in both the ancient parties, and above all to that great and blessed multitude who have entered the Church or been promoted to her ministry since party lines were drawn in this matter and controversies begun. With my faith in the breadth and fairness and scriptural loyalty of the Church I find it hard to believe that an earnest appeal in behalf of this or of some similar irenic proposal, which this may haply call forth, will be in vain.*

William F. Warren.

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* The foregoing article was sent to the printer before the writer received any intimation that critics would be unable to wait until the whole of the *irenicon* was before them. As it proved to be longer than the rules of the *Review* allow, it has been necessary to cut out several paragraphs. Under these circumstances it has been impossible to make suitable additions in reply to published expressions of dissent. Only at the end of the bracketed note under Statement 12 in the "Binocular View" have three sentences of an explanatory character been introduced. The earlier part of the note appears as originally written.

Art. VI.—TENNYSON'S THEOLOGY.

Tennyson was not a materialist, like Lucretius, a secularist, like Horace, a moralist, like Pope, or a revolutionist, like Shelley. While inherited religious tendencies and training inclined him toward conservatism, his highly emotional nature made him revolt against the extreme dogmas of Calvinism and the ecclesiastical pretensions of Anglicanism. His large-hearted catholicity at times led him, as a member of the Broad Church party, beyond the limits of strict orthodoxy. His views on theological matters resemble those in the essays and sermons of his intimate friend, Frederick Denison Maurice. Tennyson's theology is characterized by the same vagueness and indefiniteness. It is interwoven with the idealistic philosophy of Kant, and tinctured with Platonism.

I. *Liberal Tendencies.*—During the second quarter of the nineteenth century there were three intellectual movements or schools of thought in Great Britain: the High Church or Oxford movement, led by Newman, Pusey, and Keble; the latitudinarian or liberal party, headed by Archbishop Whately, of Dublin, Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, and others; and the radical or utilitarian school of Bentham and the two Mills. As the son of a cultured rector of the Established Church, and the grandson of a man conspicuous among the Lincolnshire gentry, in whose veins flowed noble and royal blood, it would seem to have been a foregone conclusion that Alfred Tennyson's Tory predilections must land him in the High Church party. Such was not the case. His lot was cast for three years (1828–31) at Cambridge, where the influence of such liberal theologians as Thirlwall and Julius Hare was dominant. His association with Maurice and Carlyle also led him in the same direction. But probably the strongest agency that drew him into the ranks of the Broad Churchmen was his own poetic heart. He retained to the last his membership in the Church of his fathers, and was opposed to disestablishment. However, his admiration for the Episcopal body as an historic institution and his love for its beautiful service did not keep him out of that current of thought which was gradually breaking down the walls of Anglican exclusiveness and intolerance.

In this revolt against the traditions and prejudices of the past which clung to the Established Church as a national institution two great poets, Shelley and Byron, had prepared the way. Tennyson followed, but afar off. He did not attach much saving grace to some of the Thirty-nine Articles, and he discounted the claims of the historic episcopate; but he sincerely revered the old Church. He had a dislike for polemics, and was grieved at the rancor and animosities of theological factions. Many of the foremost intellectual men of England were arrayed on one side or the other. Besides the Broad Church leaders already mentioned, there were Hampden and Milman, of Oxford; F. W. Robertson, Alford, and Kingsley; and, in later times, Stanley, Farrar, Haweis, Roberts, and Momerie. They had their counterparts in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in such preachers as Phillips Brooks and Heber Newton. Besides these apostles of liberalism, there were eminent divines of other Churches who may be classed among the leaders of the newer religious thinking, as it is called. Some of them were Unitarians, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians—James Martineau, Stopford Brooke, Joseph Parker, Tulloch, Drummond, and others, in Great Britain; Channing, Bushnell, Theodore Parker, Emerson, Beecher, Collyer, Lyman Abbott, T. T. Munger, Professor Swing, and others, in this country. There was one man, in particular, to whom Tennyson was greatly indebted both intellectually and spiritually. The poet and philosopher, critic and theologian, Coleridge, was indeed a mighty force in his life. This man, if any one, was the pioneer of liberal thought in England.

In all lands and ages the pivotal conception of theology is and must be the idea of God. Around the idea of God, such as men in their weakness and blindness or perversity conceive it, cluster various doctrines or truths, more or less distorted, which make up what we call theology. The belief and practice of these doctrines as to our relations with God, which also involve the question of our eternal happiness, whether formulated in creeds or not—these are the elements of religion. Some men emphasize forms and ceremonies and observances. Others lay stress on the spirit rather than the letter; they depend less on the efficacy of pomp and magnificence, whether barbaric or refined, and more on fundamentals. Ecclesiastically speaking,

these are the two wings of the Christian army. The conservative clings fast to an elaborate ritual, to some complicated system or discipline. The liberal, caring less for the externals of religion, for the sensuous accompaniments of public worship, believes in a plain service as distinguished from a stately pageant. He prizes principles more than impressive spectacles. Without disregarding the abstract, he gives prominence to the concrete —that is, to life, conduct, character.

"Liberalism" is a word that is often used rather hazily and ambiguously. Perhaps no one has succeeded in catching its meaning and defining it so concisely, and yet so perfectly, as has that incomparable master of English prose, John Henry Newman. He has put the essence of the whole matter into a single phrase. He calls liberalism "the antidogmatic principle and its developments." Of course, the antidogmatic principle, carried to extreme, brings one to free thought. With some the whittling process goes on until one cherished belief after another is lopped away, and Christianity for them becomes only a name. Such are radicals, iconoclasts. While it is true that liberalism "accepts no dogma on the mere authority of a Church," it is far removed from unbelief or infidelity. Full credit can be given to Tennyson's breadth and liberality without making him a freethinker; for he certainly was not an irreligionist. His liberalism is not to be interpreted as secularism or watered evangelicalism. In religion, as in politics, he avoided "the falsehood of extremes." Archdeacon Farrar, who knew the poet well, says, "His religion was that of an early Christian, before the pure faith of the Gospel had been defiled by the turbid ecclesiastical influxes of the third and fourth centuries." He was decidedly free from cant and hypocrisy, from bigotry and sectarianism. He was a lover of truth, and did not imagine that his countrymen possessed it all. Much as he loved and revered the Hebrew Bible, he prized the wisdom that he found in the sacred writings of other races of the Orient. In this largeness of outlook the author of "In Memoriam" was a few decades ahead of his times.

Tennyson's theological views have been likened to those of Maurice, a profound thinker and scholar, who concerned himself not only with books, but with the practical interests of men. In one of his best personal poems the laureate assures Maurice

of a hearty welcome at Farringford, where he could find relief from the acrimonious controversies of churchmen, which the poet greatly deplored. His simple creed also resembled that of another distinguished clergyman, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who, though a high dignitary of the Established Church, thought it was overburdened with the usages and dogmas of the past. "Alas," says the scholarly Dean of Westminster, "that a Church that has so divine a service should keep its long list of articles! I am strengthened more than ever in my opinion that there is only needed, that there only should be, one, namely, 'I believe that Christ is both God and man.'"

There was another note in Tennyson's religion, besides his weakened sacerdotalism, which claims attention. He showed a leaning toward Universalism, as other poets had before him, from Milton down to our own times. He entertained, or at least "admitted," the hope of universal salvation. This is the purport of the fifty-fourth ode of "In Memoriam," beginning

> Oh yet we trust that somehow good
> Will be the final goal of ill,
> To pangs of nature, sins of will,
> Defects of doubt, and taints of blood.

The "larger hope" that he faintly trusted likely means about the same as Farrar's "eternal hope." There seems to be a parallel between Tennyson's position and that of our own Whittier. However much one may feel disposed to differ from the laureate's attitude toward this doctrine or that, one cannot question his grand sincerity and deep spirituality.

II. *Religious Teaching.*—"In Memoriam" is something more than an elaborate elegy or an artistically constructed mosaic of "swallow-flights" of song. Bryant's striking imagery in "Thanatopsis" clusters around one sentiment, which is a common one to all reflective mortals—the feeling of sadness and pensiveness aroused when musing on the grave; the poem is, as Beecher called it, "pagan." George Macdonald calls that most plaintive of lyrics, "Break, break, break," "pagan." But "In Memoriam" is a Christian poem. Its spiritual teaching is healthful and elevating, being grounded in evangelical truth. Its author recognizes our relations to God as the Creator and Sovereign of the universe. He teaches that God is manifested in his works. He is a mystery; but so is

the "flower in the crannied wall." Deity is incomprehensible, and yet knowable, not by searching and arguing, but by direct consciousness. The heart going forth in earnest prayer to the Supreme Being feels the heavenly Father near, as the poet sings in ode cxxiv. Deity is infinite, and yet personal. True, there is a tincture of an almost colorless pantheism in one of Tennyson's poems, "The Higher Pantheism:"

> The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains—
> Are not these, O soul, the vision of Him who reigns?
>
> Is not the vision he? tho' he be not that which he seems?
> Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in dreams?
>
> Earth, these solid stars, this weight of body and limb,
> Are they not sign and symbol of thy division from him?

This is far from being the pantheism of Spinoza or the monism of Hartmann. It is more like the view of Malebranche, which makes the Eternal One an all-pervading presence in the universe, or like that of Goethe, who calls the visible world his garment. It reminds one of the pantheism of Wordsworth and Shelley, who got glimpses of the soul of nature in its "naked loveliness."

Several poems in Lord Tennyson's last volume, published after his death, throw light on his notion of theism. In "Akbar's Dream" is this remarkable passage:

> I can but lift the torch
> Of reason in the dusky cave of life,
> And gaze on this great miracle, the world,
> Adoring That who made, and makes, and is,
> And is not what I gaze on.

This does not make God and the world of the same substance, as does Spinoza. God is separate from the world that he made; and yet he is in it and part of it, though not in the sense of the pantheist who deifies the cosmos of which man is a sentient part. In a certain sense it may be said that matter is of God; it is derived from him, "of whom," to use the words of St. Paul, "are all things." He is the source of the universe; and yet he is infinitely superior to nature. "For with thee," says the psalmist, "is the fountain of life." Other modes of being have a beginning—they are transitory and imperfect. He alone is from everlasting to everlasting, unchang-

ing, absolute. The act of creation is his prerogative, and only his. The universe is a manifestation of divine energy. Matter represents force—it is an expression of his will. The visible world is an exhibition of creative power in God; but to say that he created it out of nothing, that he calls it into existence merely by his "imperial word," is hardly an adequate explanation of its origin.

Deity is transcendent, and yet immanent. There seems to be a grain of truth in the old Alexandrian doctrine of "emanation," as there is also in the Hindoo teaching of "the divinity of man." Back of nature, whose stability is apparent only, is a spiritual principle. That conception of the universe seems most reasonable which makes mind antedate matter. The assumption of an intelligent, willing, planning, shaping, power is at the basis of the idealistic philosophy. The infinite precedes the finite. This postulate is preferable to the materialistic theory, which makes mind flow from matter or a mode of matter. "The noblest ministry of nature," says Emerson, "is to stand as the apparition of God." Of the divine immanence Tennyson once spoke in conversation with his niece:

> I firmly believe that, if God were to withdraw himself from the world around us, and from within us, for but one instant, every atom of creation, both animate and inanimate, would come utterly to naught; for in him alone do all beings and things exist.*

In keeping with this frank and reverent declaration is the sentiment of the lyric called "Early Spring," beginning

Once more the Heavenly Power
Makes all things new.

As reported by Miss Weld, the laureate added, "He can and does answer every earnest prayer, as I know from my own experience." This conception of God is something other and more than Matthew Arnold's famous definition—"the Eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." Continuing, the poet said:

> Whatever is the highest of all must be the Deity, call it by what name you will. Wherever life is, there God is, specially in the life of man. We are all sons of God; but one alone is worthy to be called the Son of man, the representative of the whole of humanity. That to my mind is the

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* *Contemporary Review*, March, 1893.

diviner title of the two; for none dare apply to himself this title, save Christ, who is the representative of the whole human race.

Further on is this weighty remark:

> I do not care to make distinctions between the soul and the spirit, as men did in days of old, though perhaps the spirit is the best word to use of our higher nature, that nature which I believe in Christ to have been truly divine, the very presence of the Father, the one only God, dwelling in the perfect man. Though nothing is such a distress of soul to me as to have this divinity of Christ assailed, yet I feel we must never lose sight of the unity of the Godhead, the three persons of the Trinity being like three candles giving together one light.

Hardly anywhere in English poetry can be found a better statement of the mission of the Saviour, the Son of God made flesh, than in "In Memoriam" and in Tennyson's other writings. He teaches unmistakably the divinity of Christ, the incarnation of Christ, the sinlessness of Christ, the saving power of Christ, the resurrection of Christ, and the second coming of Christ. These doctrines are set forth, either by direct assertion or by implication, not only in "In Memoriam," but in other poems, notably in the "Idylls of the King." No attempt is made by the poet to demonstrate them; as in the Scriptures, they are assumed as undoubted verities.

The singer of "Locksley Hall," stirred by the mighty events of his time, rejoices in the era of progress and enlightenment for the people; but he notes regretfully that something is lacking—"Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." In ode cxiv of "In Memoriam" he places reverence before reason, deploring the iconoclastic temper of "the younger day" of science and the "march of mind." In his later years he was alarmed at the increasing prevalence of rationalism, which discredits miracles and seeks to explain away the supernatural. In the epilogue to the "Idylls," "To the Queen" (1872), he mentions, among other evils of the times, the "fierce or careless looseners of the faith." To Miss Weld he once said:

> Alas! that we should hear this cry ["What is truth?"] repeated in our own age, and that men should fail to find their soul's craving for truth satisfied by Christianity. The great spread of agnosticism and unbelief of all kinds seems to me to show that there is an evil time close at hand.

In much the same mood he breaks forth time and again in some of his later works, such as "Locksley Hall Sixty Years

After," and especially in "The Promise of May," a single passage of which may be taken as an example:

> Scorn! I hate scorn. A soul with no religion—
> My mother used to say that such a one
> Was without rudder, anchor, compass—might be
> Blown every way with every gust and wreck
> On any rock.

III. *Views on Immortality.*—Says an American clergyman:

> Tennyson's "In Memoriam" marks a great "divide" and new upland in our century's outlook toward immortality. That service to human thinking would have been, of itself, an immeasurable gift to the world, had the laureate written nothing else.

An English writer remarks:

> "In Memoriam" did its work for the generation to which it was addressed. It is doing its work still by the very vagueness and uncertainty of its teaching. Faith to-day is in solution. A questioning age feels, like Tennyson, the need of a larger hope to give nobility to life; but it cannot stifle the doubt whether man is, after all, more than a phantom passing through a world of shadows.

In "In Memoriam" it is the poet's object to soothe his own sorrow and to minister consolation to other bereaved souls by falling back on man's intuitions of the eternal verities and by fixing a settled belief in justice and recompense hereafter. The grounds of belief are the immortality of love and the superiority of wisdom to knowledge, meaning scientific research "cut loose from faith." The poet, keenly mindful of all that Hallam's friendship was to him, instinctively feels that such love is "too precious to be lost;" he holds that faith or religious consciousness perceives "the truths that never can be proved" in the present life. In all this his instinct and reason are reinforced by revelation.

Tennyson's appeal to the feelings as the surest criterion of the highest truths is entitled to respectful consideration. A reviewer in the *Quarterly Review*, of London, for January, 1893, well sums up the case from the poet's standpoint:

> His appeal is to the heart against the intellect. His position is throughout emotional, intuitive, subjective. The supremacy of love is the keynote of "In Memoriam." Love is the interpreter of man to himself and, therefore, of God to man. It is that within us which is most godlike

and nearest to the source of life. When it bids us trust it would be, argues the poet, folly to reject the deepest utterances of our human nature.

Not all will admit such an appeal to be valid as argument. If it be criticised as unphilosophical or unscientific we may reply that the singer modestly owns the insufficiency of his "brief lays, of sorrow born." In the same way some of the greatest minds—Socrates, Plato, Plotinus, Augustine, Anselm, Descartes, Kant, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Carlyle—rested on the intuitions or spiritual perceptions. If Tennyson errs, he errs in good company. Here the heart of the believer is a better judge than the head of the skeptic; its deliverances are more trustworthy, as the decisions of the man in his best moments. It is wise to

> Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt,
> And cling to faith beyond the forms of faith.

Of the future state the poet feels confident:

> My own dim life should teach me this,
> That life shall live for evermore.

His nature or temperament, as a poet-seer, is such that he is easily persuaded. The argument or evidence for immortality as presented in "In Memoriam" will probably be regarded as inadequate, except by those who wish to believe it. No proof that human ingenuity can devise or suggest amounts to demonstration. It is a matter of faith. It is much, however, to find that here consciousness and revelation are at one.

Once, in conversation with Mrs. Anne Gilchrist, the laureate "spoke of the futility of mere argument about immortality, . . . it being wholly a matter of instinct and unprovable." She replied that "conservation of force went a great way toward proof." It does not, certainly not for personal immortality. It does not even prove the perpetuity of the human race, as the poet shows in odes liv–lvi of "In Memoriam." Force persists and influence remains when the individual passes on to "join the choir invisible."

Realizing that "all the arguments are about as good on one side as the other," as he expressed it, the laureate aimed to "throw man back more on the primitive impulses and feelings." To a man having the acute sensibilities of a poet the

internal testimony, the "warmth within the breast," is exceedingly vivid. To a less emotional man this appeal to the heart, with its longings after immortality, is not so powerful. The instinctive desire for continued existence beyond the grave varies in different men; yet there seems to be present in all—the savage as well as the civilized—"the sacred passion of the second life." It is hard to say how much of weight is to be attached to the experiences gained in the state known as ecstasy. The Christian's chief reliance must be that Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to light.

The Christian philosophy of "In Memoriam" is mingled with Platonism and Neoplatonism; and there is more or less of the mystical in the poems of later years. Tennyson's intellectual curiosity as to some interesting questions of speculative theology led him into fields which cannot be explored by human reason. The old doctrine of Pythagoras and other thinkers as to preexistence (held indefinitely by Shelley and Wordsworth rather as a conception susceptible of poetic treatment than as a belief) is hinted at in "The Two Voices:"

Moreover, something is or seems,
That touches me with mystic gleams,
Like glimpses of forgotten dreams—

Of something felt, like something here;
Of something done, I know not where;
Such as no language may declare.

The same thought or fancy is referred to in ode xliv of "In Memoriam," and also in "Crossing the Bar:"

When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.

A similar idea, not of metempsychosis, is found in the last line of the concluding ode of "In Memoriam:"

Until we close with all we loved,
And all we flow from, soul in soul.

This is suggested, perhaps, by Eccles. xii, 7: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." There is a passage in the epilogue whose interpretation has vexed many a student of Tennyson:

By which they rest, and ocean sounds,
And, star and system rolling past,
A soul shall draw from out the vast
And strike his being into bounds.

It is not improbable that this stanza may contain an allusion to the speculation, in Plato's *Timæus*, of souls coming from their abodes in the stars into human bodies on this earth. One thing is clear from ode xlv, and from that strange poem, "De Profundis," namely, that the history of the soul or ego begins with this life. Although the preexistence of the soul, as a personality or self-acting agent, is not seriously taught by Tennyson, there is no mistaking his confident expectation of conscious life hereafter. He firmly holds the distinct individuality of the spirit "beyond the second birth of death:"

> That each, who seems a separate whole,
>   Should move his rounds, and, fusing all
>   The skirts of self again, should fall
> Remerging in the general Soul,
>
> Is faith as vague as all unsweet:
>   Eternal form shall still divide
>   The eternal soul from all beside;
> And I shall know him when we meet.

In ode xliii of "In Memoriam" he takes as a theme the unconscious state of the dead until the resurrection; but this view is at variance with the general tenor of the poem as a whole. The place of the departed is not a vast chamber of spirit-sleepers, if such can be imagined, whose dreamless slumber is undisturbed through the remaining cycles of time. Heaven is a theater of life and joyous activity, where there is blissful intercourse with friends gone before and blessed union with the God of light and love. It is a home made glorious by the presence of Christ. Thus, while there are echoes in Tennyson's metaphysical and religious poems of Alexandrianism and of Buddhism, he does not go to the full length of the Oriental philosophies in advocating the transmigration of souls or the sinking of self in the "universal Spirit."

Eugene Parsons

ART. VII.—PUL, JAREB, TIGLATH-PILESER—A CHRONOLOGICO-HISTORICAL STUDY.

IT is the purpose of this paper to present a solution of the chronologico-historical difficulties apparently arising out of the biblical mention of the three names, Pul, Jareb, and Tiglath-pileser, which mention has until very recently been supposed to indicate that these were three different persons, each being king of Assyria at or during the same historic period. Of these appellations the only one clearly found in the Assyrian records is that of Tiglath-pileser, the third ruler of that name on the throne of Nineveh, or Asshur. The attempt to identify Pul with Porus has not as yet attained to a satisfactory result. The conclusion which seems to have met with most favor on the part of the large majority of recent investigators is that Pul and Tiglath-pileser are but different names for one and the same person.

This conclusion, first suggested by Sir Henry Rawlinson, seems to be authoritatively confirmed by the writer of 1 Chron. v, 26: "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria [וְאֶת־רוּחַ תִּלְּגַת פִּלְנֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר], and [better, 'even,' the וְ in וְאֶת evidently indicating opposition] the spirit of Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria [Asshur], and he carried them away, even the Reubenites," etc. (better, "to wit" or "namely, the Reubenites," etc.; the לְ simply making more definite the preceding ֵם, them).* There is no evidence that Pul, when he invaded Israel under that name, being then, as below suggested, the rebel king of the rebellious city Asshur, removed any of the trans-Jordanic tribes, or, indeed, took away any captives; and the most probable reasons for the use of these two names in this connection would seem to be that they are names of the same king, and that under the latter name this king, at a time subsequent to the payment to him of tribute by Menahem, had carried away the Reubenites; and, therefore, the verb "carried away," of which this doubly named king is the subject, is put in the singular number.

This at once brings before us the difficuly in the chronology.

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* Nordheimer, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 868.

For the date of Pul, as given in the Bible, is contemporaneous with that of Menahem, who reigned from about B. C. 770 to 760, while the Assyrian records place Tiglath-pileser B. C. 745 to 727. It is certain, also, that Tiglath claims Menahem as tributary king. "The chief passage [making this claim] occurs in the annals of Tiglath-pileser: . . . 'Tribute of Kustaspi of Kumuch, of Rezin of Damascus, of Menahem of Samaria,'" etc.* Assuming the substantial accuracy of both Assyrian and biblical dates, there is yet an interval of at least fifteen years between the last year of Menahem and the first year of Tiglath's reign; and, therefore, that the latter may have received the tribute which both records state was paid, Menahem's date must be brought down at least fifteen years, or else Tiglath's exercise of Assyrian kingly functions must have exceeded the time recorded upon his monumental remains by fifteen years, and have begun at least that much earlier.

Canon George Rawlinson says that Assyrian history is "shrouded in a partial darkness for a space of nearly forty years.† During this period Shalmaneser III reigned ten years, Asshur-dayan (Assur-dan, Smith) III eighteen years, and Asshur-lush (Assur-nerari, Smith) eight years (ten years, Smith).‡ Rawlinson continues:

> The brevity of these reigns, which average only [a little over] twelve years apiece, is indicative of troublous times and of a disputed or, at any rate, a disturbed succession. The fact that none of the three monarchs left buildings of any importance or, so far as appears, memorials of any kind marks a period of comparative decline, during which there was a pause in the magnificent course of Assyrian conquests, which had scarcely known a check for above a century.§

As bearing upon our present purpose it is noted that in the eleventh year, according to Smith, of Assur-dan III the city of Asshur was in revolt, and that this revolt and the extensive rebellion of which it was the center were not suppressed, if at all, until six years had passed. The revolt would fall in the eighth year of Menahem (763), just eighteen years earlier than the beginning (745) of the reign of Tiglath-pileser. During the

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* Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (English translation), vol. i, p. 315.

† Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 122, American reprint.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 122; George Smith, *Assyria from the Monuments*, p. 6, reprint.

§ Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 122.

reign of Asshur-dayan, no fewer than three important insurrections are recorded.

> It is remarkable that into this interval falls also the famous era of Nabonassar, which must have marked some important change, dynastic or other, at Babylon. . . . Attempts were made to suppress these revolts; but it may be doubted whether they were successful.*

It may also be noted that the leader of the revolt in the city of Asshur is nowhere named in the accounts given of the civil war, which is reported to have continued for six years. The disaffection was sufficiently widespread to make it probable that whoever the leader was he would assume to himself the title, and exercise as far as possible the authority, of a king of Asshur; and it is significant that no king who, by usurpation or otherwise, is known or supposed to have established his own throne upon the ruins of a preceding dynasty has given any separate account of his previous struggles and history or any detail of his exploits before he obtained the crown, except, perhaps, where they could be so given or grouped as to be credited or made to appear as performed after he had ascended the vacated throne, the exact dates being for this purpose carefully suppressed. The account given in 2 Kings xv, 19, 20, of the appearance and operations of Pul accords well with the theory that has been advanced, that he was a rebel assuming to be king of Asshur, and that this irruption was rather of the nature of a raid than of a regular expedition for permanent occupation or conquest. There is nothing said of his carrying away, at that time, any other tribute or spoil than the one thousand talents of silver; in such circumstances, indeed, money would be to him of the greatest service and value, and the enormous tribute paid seems to indicate his great necessity. He is no more heard of in Israel, and his name does not appear in the account of this period given on the monuments. Yet Tiglath in his records claims to have received tribute from "Rezon of Syria, Menahem of Samaria," the record being in this order. †

This juxtaposition of Rezon (Rezin) and Menahem may also have its special significance. In the chronological arrangement by George Smith, on page 191 of the *Eponym Canon*, the reign

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* Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 125.

† George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 278.

of Mariha (Mari) ends B. C. 770. He inserts the name Hadara as successor to Mariha, B. C. 770 to 750, on the authority of line 11, extract xvi, page 121, of the *Eponym Canon:* "Hadara (?) the house of the father of Rezin of Syria." He, however, notes this as questionable, as there is no other authority for it; and the meaning is certainly doubtful. The better opinion would seem to be that Rezin was the immediate successor of Mariha, and was therefore contemporary with Menahem. On this view the tribute may have been, and in all likelihood was, taken in the same year, and under the same name Pul, as that of Menahem, and on the march from Asshur, before reaching Samaria; and the order of the names would then agree with the order in which the tribute was taken. It is significant, too, that the tribute was paid by the Syrian in money, for example: "Eighteen talents of gold, three hundred talents of silver, two hundred talents of copper, twenty talents of somladuni," etc.* The date given by Smith for the fragment in which "Hadara" (?) is found is B. C. 734 to 732, about the time of Tiglath's expedition to help Ahaz against Syria. It may further be noted that in the enumeration of countries subjugated from the first to the seventeenth year of his reign Tiglath does not name Samaria, or Beth Khumri, but does insert "the tribute of the kings of Syria" and "Yau-hazi of Judah;" all which goes to show that in these seventeen years he received no tribute from Samaria and accords with the biblical history. From this it would appear that it was not earlier than his eighteenth year that he received tribute from Hoshea, and that the tribute of Menahem was paid prior to the first year of his successful dethroning of the dynasty against which he had been "combatting," in order to secure their throne. †

If, now, we adopt the theory that Pul was the leader of the revolt of Asshur, and the same as the otherwise unknown usurper who in 745 was acknowledged as king of Assyria under the name of Tiglath-pileser, we have only to conceive of him as having struggled persistently against what, at first, was adverse fortune throughout the eighteen years' reign of the indolent and luxurious kings who occupied the throne, and at length reaping the reward of his long contest in the complete overthrow of the ruling dynasty. Of the family and race or origin

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* George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 274.

† *Ibid.*, p. 285.

of this monarch we know absolutely nothing. As before intimated, it does not seem to have been the custom of the kings who forced their way to the throne to give an account of their rebellious or treasonable career; but, rather, whatever of exploits they may have performed prior to their arriving at undisputed sway were mingled with those which had occurred during their legitimate reign. So, in his narrative of his conquests there does not seem to be any special attempt at a consecutive order or any design to fix the date of the several matters described as affecting northern Israel, but simply a purpose to state the fact that, at some time and place, certain things had been done by him or under his authority. Among other things, he had taken tribute from Menahem; but when he does not indicate. He names ten talents of gold and one thousand talents of silver as having been received, but whether from Pekah or Hoshea, whose names precede in immediate connection, he does not clearly state.* The name of "Azariah of the land of Judah" occurs several times in the record which he makes; but these records are so imperfect that it seems impossible to clearly and indisputably determine what relation he sustained to Azariah, whether as friend or foe. It cannot certainly be shown from his tablets that Azariah, contrary to what we gather from his prosperity as outlined in the biblical history, paid tribute to Tiglath. It is certain that when he gives a list of the tributary kings and States he does not number among them Azariah; nor does he include the kingdom or a king of Judah among them until the list appears in which Ahaz, as king of Judah, under the cognomen of Jahu-Ahaz, is found. If the Azariah of Tiglath were intended to be the Azariah better known in Scripture as Uzziah, then he was contemporary with Menahem. If, therefore, Uzziah had paid tribute to Assyria, it is a very singular omission that is made, that in the list of tributaries, among whom are the names of Rezin of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria, neither the name of Azariah nor of the kingdom of Judah is to be found.†

This omission, and the ambiguity of the fragmentary records, capable as they seem of having a different application, suggest that this Azariah may be the name of "the son of Tabeal," who was for some reason supported by Rezin and Pekah in his pretensions

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* *Records of the Past*, first series, vol. v, p. 52, lines 17, 18.

† *Ibid.*, p. 48, lines 29-33.

to the kingdom of Judah. This theory has, indeed, been adopted by Lenormant, who relates that "Eniel, king of Hamath, Rezin, son of Benhidri, king of Damascus, and Pekah, king of Israel, formed a confederation against him [Tiglath] with Ashariah [Azariah] son of Tabeal, whom these princes had put forward as a pretender to the throne of Judah in opposition, first to Jotham, and subsequently to Ahaz."* It was to overcome this confederacy and defeat the "son of Tabeal" that Tiglath was employed by Ahaz; and in response to his urgent call, in the early years of Tiglath's reign, he advanced against the Syrians, routed their armies, killed Rezin, subdued Syria, and took possession of Damascus. Prior to that time Hoshea had rebelled and had slain Pekah, but had not as yet secured the throne; and it confirms the view of the existence of anarchy or civil war in Israel from about the fourth to the twelfth year of Ahaz that, at the *durbar*, or court, which was held at Damascus at the close of the war for the protection of Ahaz, there was no representative of the kingdom of Israel present among the many who then paid their homage to the great king. It does not appear that the northern kingdom was at this time invaded by Tiglath, the rebellion of Hoshea and the consequent civil war rendering such invasion altogether needless for the protection of Ahaz and his kingdom. It was after this and as above suggested, not earlier than in his eighteenth year, that Tiglath favored the cause of Hoshea and claimed to have appointed him to rule over Samaria, the throne of which Hoshea had obtained possession of four years previously, in the twelfth year of Ahaz, he having then apparently overcome all competitors and ended the civil strife. The tribute to the Assyrian king secured him from danger of invasion and conquest, and was a means, also, of confirming him in the kingdom. We may emphasize and repeat the statement that Hoshea had rebelled in Pekah's seventeenth year, the twentieth year of Jotham's reign, dating from the beginning of his regency or household rule, and the sixteenth and last year of his sole reign, and that Hoshea had slain Pekah three years later; but not until the twelfth year of Ahaz did he secure the throne, in the possession of which he was more effectively established four years later by Tiglath-pileser.

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* *Manual of Ancient History of the East*, vol. i, p. 389. Compare 2 Kings xv, 37; Isa. vii, 1-6.

The absence of a representative of the Israelitish kingdom at the Damascus court lends strong confirmation to Hosea x, 3: "For now they shall say, We have no king, because we feared not the Lord; what then should a king do to [rather, 'for'] us?" This is an evidence that there was a period of civil war and kingless confusion in Israel during the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah.

Accepting the identity of Pul with Tiglath-pileser, and the substantial accuracy of both the biblical and Assyrian chronologies and order of events for this period, we may find a clew to the solution of the problem as to King "Jareb" (Hosea v, 13; x, 6). By general consent the word יָרֵב is defined "combatant," "struggler," etc. If Pul, as king of Asshur, or Assyria, received tribute from Menahem he must have been the leader of the rebellion of the city Asshur, and, under that name and with assumption of the royal title, must have continued the struggle for the eighteen years which elapsed after the reign of Menahem, until, reinforced by the rebellion of Kahla, he succeeded to the throne in 745; and he certainly was entitled to such an appellation as the "fighting king" (Cheyne) or "combatant" or "struggler" (Ewald). The expressions in chaps. v, 13, and x, 6, are in perfect keeping with the character and circumstances of an adventurer, such as on this theory Pul must have been. So, also, is the sarcastic raillery of the prophet: "When Ephraim saw his sickness, and Judah saw his wound, then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and [Judah] sent to King Jareb* [the struggling king]: yet could he not heal you [Ephraim], nor cure you [Judah] of your wound." And so is the additional reminder of their folly: "It shall be also carried unto Assyria for a present to King Jareb: Ephraim shall receive shame, and Israel shall be ashamed of his own counsel." The sacrifice was useless. It was a matter to be ashamed of that they had been taken in by a mere adventurer. Pul did nothing to help his vassal, but simply withdrew from the border and appeared no more under that name either to trouble or assist the despoiled monarch or Israel. It is not necessary to assume that Menahem was aware of the true character of Pul. It was sufficient that the Assyrian had following enough to enforce his demands, and that his claim to be king of Assyria, or Asshur, was not, and could not there be,

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* The only Assyrian king to whom Judah sent was Tiglath-pileser.

disputed. But Menahem may have afterward discovered the true state of affairs; and we may thus account for the fact there is no further mention, either in the biblical account or on the monuments, of Menahem's having repeated the payment of tribute, this first and only tribute having been paid near the close of his reign, thus giving some forty years to this combative usurper, Pul-Jareb-Tiglath-pileser, from the time of his assumption, prior to the death of Menahem, of the title of king of Asshur—more than half that period being for the Assyrian empire one of semi-anarchy—to his determined and desperate struggle against the reigning dynasty, in which he finally conquered and succeeded to one of the most prosperous reigns in the history of Assyrian nationality.

By this view or interpretation of the surviving historical records of this period, whether found in the Jewish books or on the exhumed monuments of the buried cities of the Assyrian empire, it will be seen that no violence is done to either. On the contrary, the substantial agreement thus brought out certainly tends to the possibility of increasing confidence in the accuracy of both these sources of information, and in the marvelous achievements of the gifted scholarship which has rescued from the oblivion of the dust the language and deeds of a people lost for ages. It serves to remove a difficulty once thought to be insuperable, and enlarges confidence and the hope that, in the order of Providence, such advances and discoveries will be made as will cause the word divine to be ultimately and universally accepted as the product of an inerrant inspiration.

Joseph Horner

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

In general the mitigation of the barbarity of ancient penal codes is creditable to a Christian civilization, inasmuch as the penalties were in many particulars disproportionate to the offense and wantonly cruel. But modern penology runs too much to leniency toward some atrocious crimes. We count it to the credit of California that, in that State, the penalty for train-wrecking is death. It should be so everywhere. We are amazed to see prominent and influential journals characterizing such punishment as excessive. The wrecker of a train, especially if it be a passenger train, knowingly and deliberately takes the responsibility of manifold murder. So far as his act can do it he inflicts upon an indefinite number of entirely innocent persons, against whom he can have no grievance, the most horrible death, by mangling and, possibly, roasting alive. His crime is so immensely devilish that he deserves to be exterminated like a mad dog or a deadly reptile for the mere attempt, even if it fails. On the one hand, considering justice, it would be no more than just, were it possible, to inflict on him, when his infernal plan succeeds, as many maimings and deaths as he has caused; and, on the other hand, considering the interests of the public, it is plainly necessary for the law to protect inoffensive and defenseless people from being fiendishly slaughtered by wholesale. We can imagine nothing more incongruous, absurd, and stupid than for a community to construct and retain for itself a criminal code under which a murderer who kills one person by ordinary means should suffer death, while he who wrecks a train, and crushes and kills two or a dozen or more, may escape with lighter punishment.

As the laws stand in nearly all our States, there is, if we are correctly informed, little likelihood of the infliction of the death penalty on any train-wrecker, however fatal the results of his crime. For although, under the common law, a verdict of murder in the first degree may be asked for in any case where killing can be proved to have been premeditated, yet there is always room for the train-wrecker's counsel to argue that his client did not intend or desire to kill anybody, but only to rob or to inflict

annoyance and damage on the railroad company, for which corporation the average juror has little sympathy; and such a plea can be made that it will be difficult to obtain from any jury under any judge a verdict of murder in the first degree, notwithstanding the train-wrecker must have known, if he had any sense at all, that his wicked act might cause the death of many. In all probability the severest verdict will be only one of manslaughter and the sentence imprisonment, from which the first demagogic or indulgent governor that happens along may pardon out the diabolical destroyer of blameless and valuable lives.

The State of California, in affixing the death penalty to train-wrecking, and the State of North Carolina, in making arson and burglary similarly punishable, are wise. In North Carolina to set fire to a dwelling or business house in which anyone is sleeping, or to break into the same, is made a capital crime, because the offender knows that death may result to the inmate of the building; the law presuming in the case of the burglar that he enters prepared to do murder if detected and pursued.

Having passed in earlier life through a period in which we proved to ourselves that capital punishment ought to be abolished, we have for some years repented of our folly. Observation and study have convinced us that the duty we owe to the criminal classes themselves, as well as the necessity of protecting the interests of society, requires us in general to make penalties adequate, sure, and swift, to the end that transgressors, finding their evil way properly hard, may be effectually discouraged therefrom.

MILK FOR BABES.

Tracts for Spiritual Reading is the title of a book of 484 pages, by the Rev. J. Furniss, C.S.S.R., "designed for First Communions, Retreats, Missions," etc., published in New York, in 1879, by the Excelsior Catholic Publishing House, and bearing on its second page the official approbation, given at its previous publication in Ireland, of William Meagher, vicar-general, in these words: "I have carefully read over this little volume for children, and have found nothing whatever in it contrary to the doctrines of Holy Faith; but, on the contrary, a great deal to charm, instruct, and edify our youthful classes, for whose benefit it has been written."

A few extracts indicate the peculiar character of portions of this manual of religious instruction for children. "In the morn-

ing before you get up make the sign of the cross and say, 'Jesus, Mary and Joseph, I give you my heart and my soul.' For this you get one hundred days indulgence." "It is impossible for anyone to save his soul who is not devout to the blessed Virgin and protected by her." The book relates that St. Bridget had a son Charles, who enlisted as a soldier and led a wicked life. After he was dead Jesus Christ appeared to St. Bridget and told her that the soul of her son was saved. St. Bridget wondered how it could be that his soul was saved when he had led a bad life. Jesus told her how this happened. He said, "Although Charles was wicked, still there was one very good thing he did: he loved my dear mother Mary, and he often prayed to her; so when he was dying my mother prayed to me for him, that he might repent and not go to hell. Now I never refuse anything that my mother asks me for, so I gave Charles the grace to repent."

Infant piety is set forth as follows: "When F. Blasucci was a little baby, not a day old, he was seen to lift up his little arms and fold them on his breast like a cross."

The efficacy of the sign of the cross is illustrated thus: "When St. Alphonsus was a baby he was carried to St. Francis Jerome. St. Francis made the sign of the cross over him, and said he would live to be ninety years old, and be a bishop, and do great things for Almighty God. All this happened afterward." And thus: Two priests saw three fiery devils in the room of a dying person in Rome. One of the priests made the sign of the cross and sprinkled holy water on the place where he saw the devils standing. Then the devils went away, leaving behind a frightful smell, like brimstone out of hell.

The history and protective power of the brown scapular are explained: "In the year 1246, on the 16th of July, the Blessed Virgin appeared to St. Simon Stock, a Carmelite monk, living in the County of Kent, England. She brought with her a brown scapular and invested him with it. She then spoke these words: 'He who dies in this scapular will not go into the flames of hell. This scapular is a sign of salvation and of safety in dangers.' Children, you should wear the holy scapular in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary." And then it is narrated how a little boy who wore the scapular, falling into the sea and sinking to the bottom, felt the scapular pulling him up and was soon out of the water on the dry land.

The book teaches that hell is just four thousand miles away, in the

center of the earth, and gives little children some glimpses of it. St. Frances, of Rome, a very holy woman, was taken to hell once that she might come back and tell what she saw. The following is part of the description: "Look at the floor of hell. It is red-hot, like red-hot iron. Streams of burning pitch and sulphur run through it. The floor blazes up to the roof. Look at the walls; the enormous stones are red-hot, sparks of fire are always falling down from them. Sometimes when you get up on a winter's morning you see the country filled with a great, thick fog. Hell is filled with a fog of fire. In some parts of the world torrents of rain come down which sweep away trees and houses. In hell torrents, not of rain, but of fire and brimstone, are rained down. Storms of hailstones come down on the earth and break the windows in pieces; but in hell the hailstones are thunderbolts, red-hot balls of fire. See that great whirlwind of fire sweeping across hell. Look how floods of fire roll themselves through hell, like the waves of the sea. Take a spark out of the kitchen fire, throw it into the sea, and it will go out; but take a little spark out of hell, less than a pinhead, throw it into the ocean, it will not go out. In one moment it would dry up all the waters of the ocean and set the whole world in a blaze. Fire on earth gives light, but it is not so in hell; there the fire is dark."

We recall the sculptured representation of the fortunes of the lost on the front of the old cathedral at Ferrara, in Italy, as we read: "Little child, if you go to hell there will be a devil at your side to strike you. He will go on striking you forever and ever without stopping. The first stroke will make your body as bad as the body of Job, covered from head to foot with sores and ulcers. The second stroke will make your body twice as bad as the body of Job. The third stroke will make your body three times as bad as the body of Job, and so on. How, then, will your body be after the devil has been striking it every moment for a hundred million years without stopping?"

Holy St. Frances also saw the great devil chained down in the center of hell. "He was sitting on a long beam which passed through the middle of hell. His feet went down into the lowest depths of hell; they rested on the floor. They were fastened with great heavy iron chains to an immense ring in the floor. His hands were chained to the roof. One of his hands was turned up against heaven, to blaspheme God and the saints who dwell there. His other hand was stretched out, pointing to the lowest hell. His tremendous and horrible head was raised up on

high and touched the roof. From his head came two immense horns; and from each horn smaller horns without number branched out, which, like chimneys, sent out fire and smoke. His enormous mouth was wide open; out of it there was running a river of fire, which gave no light, but a most abominable smell. Round his neck was a collar of red-hot iron. A burning chain tied him round the middle. The ugliness of his face was such that no man or devil could bear it. It was the most deformed and horrible thing that ever was or will be. His great, fierce eyes were filled with pride and anger, with rage and spite and blood and fire and savage cruelty. There was something else in those eyes, for which there is no name; but it made those on whom the devil's eyes were fixed to tremble and shake as if they were dying. One of the saints who saw the devil said she would rather be burnt for a thousand years than look at the devil for one moment."

More particulars about hell are authoritatively given to the little folks, as follows: "St. Teresa says she found the entrance of hell filled with venomous insects. If you cannot bear the sight of ugly vermin and creeping things on the earth, will you be content with the sight of the venomous things in hell which are a million times worse? The bite or the pricking of one insect on the earth sometimes keeps you awake and torments you for hours. How will you feel in hell when millions of them make their dwelling place in your mouth and ears and eyes, and creep all over you, and sting you with their deadly stings through all eternity?"

The children are also edified in the faith by being shown a number of sample dungeons in the prison of the lost. In the First Dungeon, this: "Come into this room. It is very small. But see: in the midst of it there is a girl, perhaps about eighteen years old. What a terrible dress she has on—her dress is made of fire. On her head she wears a bonnet of fire. It is pressed down close all over her head; it burns her head; it burns into her skin; it scorches the bone of her skull and makes it smoke. The red-hot, fiery heat goes into the brain and melts it. You do not, perhaps, like a headache. Think what a headache that girl must have. But even more. She is wrapped up in flames, for her frock is fire. If she were on the earth she would be burnt to a cinder in a moment. But she is in hell, where fire burns everything, but burns nothing away. There she will stand forever scorched and burning. She counts with her fingers the moments as they pass away slowly, for each moment seems to her like a

hundred years. As she counts she remembers that she will have to count them forever and ever." In the Fourth Dungeon, this spectacle: "Look into this little prison. In the middle of it there is a boy, a young man. He is silent; despair is on him. He stands straight up. His eyes are burning like two burning coals. Two long flames come out of his ears. His breathing is difficult. Sometimes he opens his mouth, and breath of blazing fire rolls out of it. But listen! There is a sound, just like that of a kettle boiling. Is it really a kettle which is boiling? No. Then what is it? Hear what it is. The blood is boiling in the scalding veins of that boy. The brain is boiling and bubbling in his head. The marrow is boiling in his bones." All this, and much more of the same sort, is taught to children as perfectly literal, without a single intimation that any part of it is figurative or symbolic. The dire and deadly consequences of wickedness cannot be overestimated; but the "penny dreadful" style of presenting eternal realities does not promote a wholesome and worthy effect in the heart of a little child.

Near the end of this balmy, dewy, and delectable volume prepared for the instruction and nurture of childhood in the Romish Church, a warning is given against Protestant "schools, in which children lose their holy faith." "Dear little children, they want you to come to their school in order to make you Protestants. It cannot be because they believe the Protestant religion to be the religion of Jesus Christ that they want to make you Protestants, for they know right well that the Protestant religion was made, not by Jesus Christ, but fifteen hundred years afterward by a wicked man called Luther, who broke his vows to God, and confessed that he made the Protestant religion to please the devil and spite the pope." A recent visitor to China writes: "The 'Temple of Horrors' is one of the sights of Canton. It contains representations of future punishment that are vivid enough to make even a Chinaman sober. Each little chapel contains representations of the torments of the damned. In one they are being boiled in oil, in another encased in a hollow tree and sawn asunder down the whole length of the timber, and so on through a dozen different progressions of every conceivable torture. In each scene the god of the lower world is presented in some horrible form, and the poor culprits who are waiting their turn are standing in the background with terror on their faces. This temple is farmed out every year to a speculator who pays large rent for it, and receives all the offerings of the worshipers in return,

and is said to make a fortune out of it. The practical Chinaman is not unwilling to make money, even out of a subject so horrible. The place is full of money-changers and various offices, and seemed a strange mixture of sordid avarice and ghastly superstition." In the city of Tsi-nan, China, the Roman Catholic church has on its walls a lurid fresco of devils pitchforking human souls into a flaming pit. The Romish priest in charge when questioned about it says, with a grimace and shrug, "O, that is for the Chinese!" It seems, from the volume before us, that it is also considered proper nourishment for the tender souls of the sweet little children of Christian lands. A missionary, ten years in China, now sitting at our side, says that paganism, in its most abominable fabrications, has never devised anything in the way of religion so diabolical as this book contains.

In this most frightful book, which bears on its title-page, in token of Church authorization, "*Permissu Superiorum*," the vicar-general sees, he says, "a great deal to charm, instruct, and edify" the youthful classes "for whose benefit it has been written." Is this the sort of milk for babes that the "Holy Mother Church" of Rome gives forth from her bosom to her nurslings in the closing decades of the nineteenth Christian century? Were it not better for infancy to be suckled by a she-wolf on the Roman hills? To such books as this, thrifty and unscrupulous professional infidels frequently resort for ammunition to use in their assaults upon the Christian religion, which they caricature as grossly as Furniss's *Tracts for Spiritual Reading* misrepresent it.

AN EMINENT EDUCATOR.

Nothing is more agreeable than to assist in rendering to exalted merit and distinguished services the grateful honor which is their just and proper due. A long and powerful life, like that of Joseph Cummings, devoted almost entirely to the work of education in our highest institutions, is worthy of recognition and record on some imperishable page of the literature of the Church of which he was a loyal and laborious servant. Hence the biographical article by Dr. King in our present issue and, in addition, the editorial remembrance which follows. Of this record Methodism in general will thankfully approve, while among the readers of the *Review* must be very many, scattered over the whole earth, to whom this portraiture will have peculiar interest, from the fact that they

are conscious of bearing within themselves ineffaceable marks of the influence of the strong and sturdy personality of that great educator whose character and work receive somewhat tardily, here and now, the portrayal which it were indecent for any to begrudge or for the *Review* to omit through negligence.

Our first impressions of Dr. Cummings were received on entering college as a freshman. Those first impressions are vivid still. But if they or the other memories of student days were all our stock we would have but small qualification for writing intelligently concerning him. The relation between student and president is not one certain to insure correct appreciation or absolute agreement on all points. The pupil sometimes finds discipline distasteful and regulation irksome, thinks the hand of government a hard hand, and entertains grave doubts whether the men over him, who, by some accident wholly mysterious to his piercing intellect, have been lifted to positions of control and superintendence, are really the wisest and most reasonable men in the world. Through this tumefied and tympanitic stage of mental development most students are apt to pass. In the army a superior officer can command anything from subordinates and privates except their solid approval; that it is practically impossible for him always to command. In school and college it is not much easier for authority to win the unanimous and constant approval of those over whom it must exert itself.

The very position of undergraduate is unfavorable for getting a fair and proportioned view of the man or men who sit in the seats of instruction and government. It only gives a view from the underside. In the Doré Gallery in London was one picture remarkable among the rest only for one singular peculiarity, namely, the point of uiew from which it was painted. Its scene was a wheat field, and the point of view was that of an observer lying flat on his back on the ground, seeing grain and wild flowers standing over him against the sky. It is a strange experience to be looking at a wheat field from its underside; and if one had no other view he would have a very odd and incomplete idea of what a wheat field really is. The undergraduate's view of the faculty has the misfortune to be from a single point and from the underside. Furthermore, the student is too near his instructor to be able to gauge dimensions and make a just estimate. A man standing with his face close against the stone wall of a building, in actual contact therewith, with no chance to stand off from it, may not be able to tell whether the building is a smokehouse, a

jail, a warehouse, or a cathedral. But at the distance of ten, twenty, or thirty years away from the undergraduate standpoint one sees the instructor in perspective and has standards for comparing and a base for measuring height, breadth, and outline; and if there be any skill in the observer he ought, with such a base line of observation, to take measurements not entirely inexact.

Standing off from the edifice of Joseph Cummings's life, one sees a somewhat massive structure, built of something which resembles granite; of Doric simplicity, not everywhere smooth; rough-hewn in finish at some points; touched here and there with Gothic ruggedness and austerity and—shall we say?—sublimity; not so symmetrical and faultily faultless in its grace as the Parthenon on Minerva's mount; not breaking anywhere, like St. Mark's at Venice, into fretwork of pinnacles and domes; but a solid structure, presenting a buttressed and imposing front, with lofty and substantial towers. It is not too much to say that the edifice of his life was a temple dedicate to the living God and filled with worship—worship directed mostly by the maxim, "*Laborare est orare*"—a temple of which, as we contemplate it, we feel like saying, in words adapted from Bishop Coxe's hymn,

> We mark its goodly battlements,
> And its foundation strong;
> We hear within the solemn voice
> Of an unending song.

Beyond dispute and without figure, his was a strong, noble, consecrated life, concerning which we note here a few definite and distinguishing facts.

I. Dr. Cummings was an example of the prevailing power that is in original and developed manhood, rather than in elaborate equipment. He got his growth and training in the primitive simplicity of fifty years ago, when our educational institutions were few and small and poor. Comforts were scanty, luxuries unknown, apparatus not worth mentioning. He was equipped in the days of comparatively meager facilities, when the power for winning had to be in the man, since it could not be in the facilities. Those who set out for success then knew they must achieve it by sheer force of manhood. Ours is the day of vastly increased advantages and elaborate equipment; and it is possible for individuals to exaggerate the value and efficiency of such things, so as to depend too much on the benefits of improved opportunities and modern methods. At any rate, we have more need now than

they had half a century ago to bear in mind continually that still the power must be in the man ; it cannot reside in the implements, mere information, machinery, or methods. In the work of life there is no substitute for man-power. If any fledgling graduate of to-day expects to surpass the fathers by the possession of superior tools and other advantages of outfit, or thinks that these things render success more sure for him than it was for the fathers, he makes an egregious and probably fatal mistake. Polished implements; skilled tuition, and expert training are furnished by colleges and universities now to whoever will apply. But the great problem which remains ever on our hands, and pushes us harder than any other, is how to match the tough, hardy, resourceful, and masterful manhood of the fathers; and we would better learn enough of history and biography to understand that this is a job of pretty large dimensions. An occasional look at such a man as Joseph Cummings will help to impress that important lesson on us.

II. Dr. Cummings was an example of roundabout knowledge and development. He was educated on the old plan, before specialization had divided and subdivided education into fenced lanes and close compartments. Perhaps it is permissible, possibly it may be wise, to remind ourselves that, in general, we have to purchase any one thing at the cost of something else, and that whatever may be the undeniable benefits of the modern plan of electives, which permits study to run into narrow lines for the sake of intensity and thoroughness, that plan cannot have all the advantages, and they who follow it rigidly must forego some results obtainable under the old curriculum. In the present state of human knowledge it is necessary for some to make the sacrifice of breadth and roundness which the specialist incurs; but there is always need, also, of men of circular culture, of large and impartial development, of general knowledge, not critically exact to the last *minutiæ*, but affording comprehensive views which cover all departments and see their relative importance from a central standpoint. And this is the type of man needed, qualified, and likely to be selected for positions of headship and general superintendence. For this particular type, as well as for specialists, there will be increasing demand. How deep, exact, and exhaustive President Cummings's knowledge was in any particular line we cannot say; but we are sure that in correct general comprehension his mental vision was Baconian, that it boxed the compass of knowledge and swept round the three hundred and

sixty degrees of the circle of culture. He was a large, broad-minded example of all-around development, and so occupied for almost forty years the presidential sphere with a fullness and sufficiency rarely equaled.

III. Dr. Cummings stands as an example of rugged stalwartness bracing to contemplate. A Frenchman says, "The Teutons have no nerves; they have sinews." The French are precisely the people who ought to know about this; for the German sinews were on exhibition on French soil in 1870, when the "giant in the spiked helmet" marched from Berlin to Paris. The French, on the contrary, have more sensitiveness than strength; and the Teutonic race is worth more to the world than the Gallic, because power is better than hyperæsthesia, because firm, patient, plodding endurance is better for the individual and for this workaday world than exquisite sensibilities. It will be an evil day for us if overrefinement ever leads us to cultivate our nervous sensitivity at the expense of our sinews. We sometimes fear the tendency of our civilization sets that way. Refined sensibilities and elegant accomplishments do not make essential and potential manhood. What Clive's friend says in Browning's poem is true:

> Power is power, my boy, and still marks the man.

Joseph Cummings is of value as a model to help us against the possibility of such a mistake. Sinewy, sinewy he surely was; brawny, brawny all men knew him to be. He had a Herculean frame, "limbed like the old heroic breed." All his stalwart strength of body and brain, of sinew and soul, he bent to the most incessant and prodigious industry. He was as certainly built for heavy loads and hard pulling as are the fine big oxen in Portland brownstone quarries; the mildness of the ox was not in him, but the strength was. His strength was not like that of a trained athlete from the gymnasium, but rather of a yeoman from the farm. By night, as well as by day, he toiled terribly. Sydney Smith would have advised him, as he did Brougham, to content himself with doing three men's work. In his student days a member of the class before his reports that no other college boy studied so many hours as he. As president he made himself a man of all work, hesitating at nothing that brain or hands could do, counting no drudgery beneath him. The bell for recitation used to find him sometimes digging drain ditches or postholes in the field which is now the athletic grounds behind

the college at Middletown. In imagination we can see him now, as we saw him then, come hurrying in from the field to the recitation room, with the clay on his shoes, the dirt on his clothes, soil on his hands, and sit down to his desk, mopping the sweat from his forehead, as we students filed in and he called the roll and opened the text-book to begin.

How much the influence of such a man was worth in fostering a rugged and laborious manliness in his students cannot be measured. But one thing is certain—if any bachelor of arts went out of Wesleyan between 1857 and 1875 with uppish, dainty, or effeminate notions it was in no degree the fault of the sturdy president. A New York Fifth Avenue tailor tries to bring us to a pessimistic state of mind with the appalling information that since James Buchanan we have had only one well-dressed president in the White House—Chester A. Arthur. Only once in thirty years has drawing-room elegance graced the presidential chair of the nation. We are disposed to give thanks for this. Ours is not an age of *sartor resartus.* We do not go to the tailor for the measure of a man. Gaunt, rustic, awkward Abraham Lincoln, in his loose-fitting habiliments, old shawl, and rusty hat, was worth more than all the merchant tailor's presidents we ever had or can have. Joseph Cummings was nearer akin to Abraham Lincoln than to James Buchanan.

IV. Inside this rugged, stalwart man was a big, warm, tender heart, which showed itself upon occasion to sick students and others who were in need and who have not yet forgotten it. Camped one night in Palestine, in the green vale of Urtas, just above Solomon's Pools, we lay awake in our tents in the middle of the night and listened to two sounds which can never be forgotten. One was the conies, barking faintly on the hills in the Syrian moonlight; and the other was the gurgle of a stream, flowing through its rocky channel somewhere underground and passing beneath our tents on its way to fill the great pools beyond us. Deep down under the surface of Dr. Cummings's nature one could detect, in favorable hours, a vein of tenderness, flowing like a sweet stream through a rocky channel in secret depths, and coming to the surface here and there with its largess of sympathy and refreshing for the parched necessities of the suffering and the troubled. The writer cannot forget that he had personal experience of that tenderness manifested to him by the president's kind words and considerate manner when, in his junior year, he was summoned to the deathbed of his mother and two weeks

later returned to college with a heavy heart. Dr. Cummings met with affectionate gentleness the returning boy, who now, at the distance of many years, is glad of an opportunity to bless him for it publicly. Many others would like a similar chance to give thanks for similar kindnesses.

V. Dr. Cummings was an example of a man occupying a high position, meeting its obligations, exercising its functions, and overcoming its difficulties with uniform success. Every official position must bear its own responsibilities and face its peculiar and inevitable difficulties. The chair of government is not a cushioned seat. Whoever is ordained to govern may be appointed to honor, but is certainly consigned to trials many and various. Sooner or later governing becomes arduous, and must be conducted through tangled embarrassments and divided counsels and against opposition more or less pronounced and troublesome. The man who was president of Amenia Seminary, Genesee College, Wesleyan University, and the Northwestern bore the heavy burdens of his office, discharged its delicate duties, and faced its difficulties always courageously, and generally with prevailing ability, though not without exciting opposition.

VI. Dr. Cummings was an example of a man who, within the limits of his own nature and construction, managed his capacities as well as he could, working them up to their greatest power, highest speed, and utmost result. God makes each individual a present of his own nature and its contents. The individual can only accept it and do the best he may with it. Every self-studious person finds something in himself he would like different; he is conscious of defect, unless he is a fool. Everyone would be glad to possess all possible elements of manhood, raised to their highest power and harmoniously balanced, but knows he does not; knows, also, that no man does. Everybody lacks something which somebody else has. To say that William H. Seward had not the Grecian finish, Roman dignity, and statuesque repose of Charles Sumner is not disparagement, but portraiture. Every human constitution must endure the limitations and carry the liabilities of its peculiar make-up. Perils and perquisites are both on board. A clipper and a man-of-war cannot exchange either advantages or disadvantages. Each must put up with its own build. The man of ardent temperament cannot have the deliberation of the cool; nor the sluggish and lymphatic the vivid and magnetic warmth of the mercurial; nor the timid the dash and gayety of the fearless; nor the impulsive the safety of the

cautious. Down the coast from Maine to Georgia go schooners loaded with ice; little danger of explosion or fire at sea in such a craft. Across the ocean go steamers loaded with petroleum, doubly endangered by furnaces and cargo. It is a proportionately greater achievement to bring a cargo of gunpowder safe to port than a cargo of cheese. There was no possibility of making the fiery Luther like the mild Melanchthon; and if it had been done we would have had no Reformation. The Reformation was an engine that required a hot fire under the boiler to make it go. With only the cool mildness of Melanchthon the driving wheels would scarce have made a revolution, and the great train of religious progress would never have got started on its steep upgrade.

Dr. Cummings could not be Dr. Fisk or anybody but himself; and it is common sense for us to be glad of it, because for the sake of utility, as well as picturesque variety, it is better to have one Fisk and one Cummings than a brace of duplicates. If the fifth president of Wesleyan could not reproduce the placid spirit, the gentle and delicate amiability of the first, we know that, in tug and toil of body and brain, Joseph Cummings could tire out Wilbur Fisk three hundred and sixty-five times in every year. What wonder, if the man of tremendous energy shows an indomitable, unyielding, and sometimes imperious will, that can illy brook opposition? What wonder, if, in the depths of this strong and intense nature, as in the heart of Luther, there were some volcanic possibilities? What wonder, if he were capable of wrath, which made him formidable to confront, as several students knew, learning by experience the truth of the poet's lines,

> 'Tis easy to face passion in a passion;
> But it is a daunting thing to look upon,
> When the blood is going its mild pace in your own veins.

But Joseph Cummings's indignation was righteous; or, at least, beyond doubt, it always meant to be, and so was righteous in intent. If the impetuous, glowing forces of his being made perpetual self-control less easy for him than for colder and feebler natures, we yet have reason to rejoice in his mettlesome and spirited energies, because he kept them always pulling mightily at the heavy loads to which he harnessed them.

VII. Dr. Cummings stands as the one most conspicuous example of a chief educator permitted by Providence and the Methodist Church to devote a lifetime, almost solidly, to educational superintendence. Has any other college president in Meth-

odist Episcopal history piled up so large an aggregate of service? The name of Wilbur Fisk represents the educational work of American Methodism in its early stages; and he is justly entitled to prominence by his firstness in time, by his beautiful character, by his fine influence on our denomination, and by his preferring his presidency to the episcopacy for the last three years of his life. But his record as an educator covered only twelve years—four at Wilbraham and eight at Middletown. Stephen Olin sat in professional and presidential chairs not more, all told, than twenty years. Matthew Simpson was only eleven years an educator; E. O. Haven, about twenty years; John P. Durbin, sixteen years; John McClintock, fifteen years; Edward Thomson, fourteen years. Other able and faithful presidents we have had; but in almost every case the educational work was only an episode in the man's career.

In contrast with these Joseph Cummings packed thirty-eight years with educational work, "good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over." The only Methodist president we can recall who approaches him in length of educational work is Dr. Frederick Merrick, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, whose presidency, however, was only fourteen years. Aside from him, Dr. Cummings, in round numbers, doubles in years of educational work any president the colleges of our Church have ever had. These figures force on our minds the question whether, if you measure by the laborious years spent and aggregate amount of successful work done, Joseph Cummings does not stand alone in the first century of the Methodist Episcopal Church as the great college president—a question not to be answered by partiality or prejudice, but solely by the record.

VIII. We believe it is not certainly known who it was that first said he liked the sort of man that "brings things to pass." Dr. Cummings was one of that sort, a man of large practical wisdom and executive ability, inventive, enterprising, progressive, and influential. A jury of farmers, mechanics, and business men would have called him a practical man, a man of affairs. His work in the main was administrative, his professorship incidental; though he was not destitute of masterly ability in the recitation room, where his endeavor was rather to educate than instruct, to provoke and evoke mental action on the student's part rather than to load him with information. To the method the branches which he taught were favorable. He was not so much a technical scholar as an educational captain. His students used

to think that if he had entered political life in his native State he would have made an astute statesman, a fit senator from Maine for the national Congress.

One is surprised, at first, to find the bibliography of his life so small—the printing of only a half dozen review articles, the publishing of only a dozen sermons and addresses delivered on various occasions, and the editing of Butler's *Analogy*, with notes, an index, and a life of the author. This does not seem a large result for a man of his ability to leave in type. The entirely honorable explanation is that his life was not consecrated to making books. It was devoted to making men and building great institutions; and the results are not on library shelves, but fixed in strong colleges or fluent in human lives, through which they flow abroad in all the earth, leavening, reduplicating, and compounding *ad infinitum.*

IX. Dr. Cummings's life was on the whole a climax. Doubtless its final epoch was its noblest. It might have been foreseen that his last years would likely be his best. He was capable of learning by experience and improving on his own past. He had vital force for a long growth. It would take accumulating years a long time to tame the powerful passions of his blood. The fire of youth would keep on burning under this man's white hairs. Many years would only mellow and sweeten and enrich his nature. Also, the providential progress of his career carried it to a climax. We cannot but note and cannot help rejoicing that when, at the age of threescore, he found himself by the movement of events remanded to the pastorate, which to a man of sixty, accustomed to work in educational harness, could hardly be the most congenial field, there opened for him a fresh educational opportunity; so that, in a region far removed, on a new and unencumbered field, he entered upon the grandest opening and the largest usefulness of his life. His biographer will find that the most fragrant, beautiful, and blessed chapter is the one that covers the last nine years, which were lived a thousand miles from the scenes of his previous life, on the shore of Lake Michigan. The report is that in that time the number of his students doubled, from nine hundred to eighteen hundred; that two hundred thousand dollars of debt were paid off; and that three elegant buildings were added to the property.

The Caledonian Canal in Scotland starts from the level of the sea at Inverness. Up among the hills it goes, through lock after lock, from plane to plane, with purer and clearer water at every

stage, till it reaches summit level in Loch Oich and with calm and open face contemplates the near sky. So did Joseph Cummings's life progress; and Providence spaced it into stages and locked it up from level to level, till finally it rested at the top of his ascent—broad, clear, and peaceful, with the stars of the sky reflected in its bosom, and sweet winds from out the heavens rustling its borders with whispered intimations of the infinite and the eternal beyond.

President Cummings was not an old man when he died at seventy-three. Some men are more aged at fifty than he at threescore and ten. Dr. Whedon retired from action at forty, feeling himself an old man, and actually took to reading Cicero's *De Senectute* for consolation in what he regarded as his declining years. Dr. Cummings never retired, never wore an air of looking toward sunset, never bade the world good afternoon, never stood still in the furrow waiting for the *angelus* to ring. He took no note of the time of day; he was not the sort of servant that earnestly desireth the shadow; he kept digging away, as the unnoticed evening fell, just as sturdily as when his day was at the morn. In meridian might he heard the undesired summons to lay down his tools.

If it were assigned to us to put a monument above his dust we would set up a tall and rugged monolith of granite quarried from the coast of his native Maine. On it we would put his last words, the question to Dr. Brayton, his physician, the night before he died, "Has my record been a good one?"—a question which points all men to his record; and the record itself is his superb and undecaying monument. Under that question might be cut deep in the stone these great words, "He that overcometh shall inherit all things;" for his course was a victory first and last. When he stood venerable with years and honors on the heights of his life it was in sight of a height that is higher, to which he has now surely mounted.

The *Wesleyan Bulletin* said, "Death brought him the first rest he ever knew." We, for our part, scarce can think of such a nature as his being contentedly at rest; for his preferences and passions were never for repose, but always for action. Rather must we think that "yonder, worlds away, in the heaven's heights far and steep, he still strives and thrives, fights on, fares ever there as here," "more than conqueror," through the Christ who lived and died for men, who is Helper of the weak, Brother of the mighty, and Saviour of the sinful.

THE ARENA.

"OUR MEN AND WOMEN—AN IRENICON."

In the *Methodist Review* for September my esteemed and learned friend, President W. F. Warren, makes a notable effort to so adjust the already too much discussed woman question, in relation to the General Conference and to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as to satisfy those who take what many deem to be the only tenable grounds clearly stated in the Scriptures and claimed, from a physiological point of view, by the latest and best scientists in reference to the brain, the blood corpuscles, and the general physique of woman as compared with man. These biblical and physiological truths and facts should have so settled this matter in our Church, as they have in other large Churches, as to have brought this unwelcome and unprofitable debate to a close long ago. Indeed, it should never have been mooted. But as Dr. Warren offers an *irenicon* to some features of which strong exceptions may be taken, I modestly name a few that, I think, cover the whole ground.

1. There is no need of "a better understanding of scriptural and legal principles," particularly if the latter be based on the past history of the Church and on the physical and mental constitution of woman.

2. Placing confidence in the Scriptures and in the distinctive and sexual characteristics of woman, "each party has [not] been contending for principles essentially true." The principles are diverse and cannot be harmonized in any ecclesiastical amalgamation.

3. I do not think it historically true "that from the beginning of American Methodism all duly appointed class leaders have impliedly been entitled to membership in . . . Quarterly Conferences," etc. Male leaders have ever been so entitled, not female. The latter have not claimed or availed themselves of such membership, because neither the preachers appointing them nor they themselves recognized such right. Having been a Methodist preacher for more than fifty years, officiating in four States and in Conferences now covering the territory included in three Conferences, I never appointed or recognized a woman class leader as entitled, in fact or in theory, to a seat in Quarterly Conference; nor did I ever have one in that office who thought herself eligible to that body. Her reports were duly made either to her pastor or through another to the Quarterly Conference. So far as my knowledge of Methodistic usage goes this has been the uniform practice.

Of the so-called "facts" presumably "admitted by all parties," those included in sections 3 to 10 have no relevancy to the main question. The election of women to Lay Electoral Conferences in 1871 and 1872 was un-Methodist and without warrant. The action of the General Conference in 1872, in reference to the exclusion of persons from office on account of sex, was, in the opinion of many, an unwise action. The sections numbered 13, 14, 15 have nothing to do with the principal question. The officers

of the General Conference, as stated in sections 16 and 18, could do nothing else in reference to the "three women elected as reserve delegates" than they did do, until the body of which they were officers had taken action. That body acted unwisely in not granting those women seats in the General Conference.

The Central Mission Conference of India, referred to in section 20, has no legislative or mandatory authority or power; and its doings have no more relevancy to the main question than has the late synodical election of a woman to a seat in the Wesleyan Conference in England. The movement in the West, a little prior to the General Conference of 1888, and the agitations following it were not a little discreditable to the Church; and the action of the bishops thereon was wise and in harmony with the genius and history of universal Methodism. To the statement of historical facts on pages 738–741 little exception need be taken; but to the idea that, because of that strange history, "they [the women] were neither legally eligible nor legally ineligible" to membership in General Conference, I take unqualified exception. They are not now nor ever have been eligible to membership in that body, notwithstanding its wabbling efforts to make them members.

However well intentioned are the irenical pleas of Dr. Warren in reference to the strange, complicated, and diverse doings of several Electoral and General Conferences on this question, it had been better if the matter had not been broached at all. The peace, the character, and the prosperity of the Church call for a summary ending of the whole matter by the General Conference of 1896. The more that shall be done to make woman eligible to membership in the General Conference and to the ordained ministry the longer continued will be the efforts to put the Church out of harmony with the revealed will of God and the essential constitution and relations of woman. Whatever more may be said in Dr. Warren's next paper, it cannot change the divinely constituted and fundamental facts in the main question. The consensus of the Churches and the trend of Christendom are against the abnormal movement to bring woman out of her broad, dignified, and sacred spheres of privilege and duty in the family and the Church. BOSTWICK HAWLEY.

Saratoga, N. Y.

THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF INDIA AND MALAYSIA.

THIS is what might be called a sub General Conference, or branch of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is a central and representative organization, intended to meet the growing wants of Methodism in Southern Asia. The need of such a unifying and cooperating body was felt and requested long before the conservative General Conference authorized its organization. There seemed to be a fear that it meant some kind of secession. Nevertheless, in 1881, an organization meeting the need was formed in India and met twice. In 1884 the General Conference sanctioned this organization substantially as it existed. The Conference, as it met in February last, represented six Conferences in

India, Burmah, and Malaysia. A roll of sixty-three delegates was called, twenty-one of whom were women. These represented work in sixteen languages and over a territory larger than the United States. As will be seen, the Conference is not trammeled by the traditions of the home General Conference. A large wing of the body consisted of women. Thus, the progressive character of this model General Conference may be seen. The conservative home General Conference will doubtless work out in time the problem of woman representation. The importance, ay, necessity, of it in this part of the world will appear from the statement that at this session important questions of policy and legislation came before the Conference—on deaconesses' work, zenana or woman's home work, the ladies' college, girls' boarding schools, and other matters—in which the voice and counsel of women were indispensable.

To indicate something of the scope and importance of the work that came before this General Conference of the East, mention may be made of the following regular committees which dealt with the matters involved: Publication, Education, Sunday Schools, Church Property, Woman's Work, Revivals, State of the Church, Conference Claimants, Epworth League, Temperance, and Salary of Missionaries. These committees worked upon questions involving the interest of nearly three hundred million of souls, speaking many languages. Twenty-two institutions of learning were passed in review, and in addition legislation was effected touching over one thousand minor schools. The interests of four publishing houses, at Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras, and Singapore, were considered. From these houses eight regular periodicals are issued, in seven languages. Agents and editors made their reports. Elections for the new term of two years were held.

The merest reference may be made to some matters acted on, all having an important bearing on the great work of Methodism in this Eastern world. A manual was ordered to be prepared grouping the orders and legislative acts of this body during twelve years. This, with an Annual Conference Manual sanctioned, will constitute a kind of addendum Discipline for this part of the world. Courses of study were adopted for foreign missionaries, for foreign deaconesses, for native deaconesses, for trained nurses, and for general lay workers. A committee was appointed to secure and prepare text-books when required, to be translated into different languages. An important action of the Conference was the formation of a "Financial Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India," consisting of the Bishop of India, *ex officio*, four ministers, and four laymen, said board to be located at Calcutta. This board is duly "registered" under the Government Act, and thus becomes capable of holding all property of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India the use of which is not provided for by the Missionary Society or any other legal board. This Financial Board corresponds to the General Conference Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A similar Financial Board was ordered to be formed for our work in Malaysia, as the government there is separate from India. By act of this Central Conference session, the

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headquarters of the Church were fixed at Calcutta, which thus becomes for the work what New York is to Methodism in the United States. An executive committee is appointed at each session of the Conference to act on important matters in the interim of sessions.

This brief statement indicates something of the vastness and hopefulness of the outlook of one of the youngest of the great missions undertaken by the Methodist Episcopal Church in foreign lands. A few words of Bishop Thoburn, from his address at the opening of the late session, are just in place here :

> To state the conclusion of the whole matter in as few words as possible, I would say that we must familiarize ourselves with the idea that God has called us to found a mighty Christian empire in this Eastern world. That may seem like the whisper of ambition ; but on the other hand, if this world is ever to be converted and become in very deed a Christian world, Christian men and women in many lands must become perfectly familiar with golden visions of this kind. . . . If we are not laboring to establish the kingdom of Jesus Christ among men we are certainly laboring in vain ; and if we are engaged in this stupendous calling it is an act of simple faith in the calling, and in Him who calls, to recognize the fact that we are laying the foundations of a mighty empire. There is no other name for it ; no other language could express the fact. Let us not shrink from the full recognition of this stupendous fact, which God would have us comprehend in all its height and depth, and length and breadth.

The following statistical summary may be studied by anyone who wishes to know the exact facts. The statistics have been carefully collected from the Annual Conference Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India, and are believed to be accurate and reliable. A few items are lacking from Malaysia, so that the totals are slightly under the actual amounts:

		Totals.
Church membership:		
Probationers	36,640	
Members	18,508	
		55,148
Baptisms in 1893 :		
Adults	11,967	
Children	6,770	
		18,737
Educational institutions of all grades		1,249
Pupils in " " "		32,243
Sunday schools		1,864
Sunday school pupils		70,156
Native Christian community		72,220
Foreign and Anglo-Indian missionaries	84	
*Wives of " " "	75	
Lady missionaries of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society	45	
Anglo-Indian assistants	95	
Native ministers—Conference members	90	
† Local preachers	362	
† Exhorters	668	
Christian teachers	1,030	
Bible readers	449	
Colporteurs	49	
Other paid workers	101	
Total of paid workers		2,897

* All unpaid. † Some, connected chiefly with English churches, unpaid.

Mission property:	Rupees.	Rupees.
Value of churches	796,342	
Parsonages	515,198	
Other mission property	1,309,437	
Total value of mission property		2,620,977
Moneys collected in India * for all purposes and from all sources in 1893		411,701

Bareilly, India. T. J. Scott.

THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST.

The divinity of Christ is not more plainly asserted in Scripture than his humanity. He speaks of himself almost invariably as the "Son of man." Matthew records thirty-one instances where he thus designates himself, and only one where he alludes to himself as the "Son of God."

As the Son of man he inherited a human, not a superhuman, nature. His humanity was the common humanity of his maternal ancestry and liable to everything to which they were liable. In Heb. iv, 15, we are told: "For we have not a high Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling [συμπαθῆσαι] of our infirmities [ἀσθενείαις, 'weaknesses']; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." How are we tempted? By direct assaults of the tempter and by the sinward tendencies of our weakened human nature. He was "in all points tempted like as we are," the only difference being that he never yielded. A superhuman humanity is a contradiction in terms, an irreconcilable duality of ideas. In the humanity of Christ there was neither any superhuman quality nor was there the perfection of the nature prior to the fall. In the latter case a new creation would be required and the whole line of progenitors from Abraham must be disowned. The sacred record traces his genealogy back to Adam, calls him "the seed of the woman," "the seed of Abraham," "the seed of David," showing his humanity to be not only truly human, but warped and biased and weakened by transmission through seventy-five generations of sinners. The idea of the immaculate and impeccable character of the humanity of Christ occasioned and, indeed, required the dogma of "the immaculate conception" and its resultant belief—the union of Deity and humanity in the person of the Virgin Mother, instead of in the person of Christ.

Shall we not rather believe that the weakened and degenerated human nature inherited by him was purified and energized by his innate Godhead, yet underwent no transmutation nor exceeded the standard pronounced by the Creator to be "very good." If his human nature was different from that of the race in general his incarnation would be no more to us than if he had taken on him "the nature of angels." The argument of the second, fourth, and fifth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to prove his relation to us and the identity of his humanity with ours. He was tempted, "was compassed [or laid round about] with infirmity," "learned obedience by the things that he suffered," "increased in wisdom," and "was

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* Malaysia not included.

made perfect through suffering"—all which expressions are applicable only to a weakened and peccable human nature. The obedience of an impeccable being would be no vindication of the law, no evidence that it was "holy and just and good." Christ vindicated the law by placing himself on the level with humanity—sin-weakened humanity—and then rendering perfect obedience.

Let us not detract from the merit of Christ by robbing his life of all character; and there can be no character where there is no option. Let us not rob ourselves of the benefit of his example by holding that no parity exists between his ability and ours. And let us not minify his humanity by denuding it of its crown of excellence, leaving it an emasculated humanity, incapable of right as of wrong, a mere machine on which the divine power acted arbitrarily and irresistibly, as it does not on humanity.

Marysville, Kan. THOMAS SCOTT.

ATONEMENT A SUBSTITUTE FOR PENALTY.

IN the March–April number of the *Review* Dr. Miley's theory of atonement was under discussion by Dr. McChesney, but was not quite satisfactorily disposed of. To me the theory seems not only inadequate, but seriously faulty. Dr. Miley discriminates his theory from the "satisfactional" view very sharply, designates it the "rectoral or governmental" view, and distinctly holds that it is "a substitute for penalty," and that its value is measured by the office of penalty in moral government. Now, against this theory I desire to urge the following objections:

1. Penalty has no office of reconciliation whatever in the governmental system, while the sufferings of Christ look to this as their objective aim. It has no power to cancel guilt, no power of justification, no power of regeneration, no power of sanctification. Nor has it for the sinner any power of reformation or reinstatement. Nor, indeed, has it any power for conserving moral government. But the death of Christ is the meritorious ground for all this.

2. Penalty, as expressive of all the bad consequences of sin, is one of the great obstacles to reconciliation and reinstatement; whereas the atonement in Christ looks to the lifting of the penalty as one of its triumphs, and to the counteracting of sin as that which inaugurates penalty.

3. Penalty only operates deterringly, and can never expiate the offense by which it has been superinduced; whereas the death of Christ looks to the deliverance of the sinner from his sinful state and the bad consequences it entails.

4. Atonement has its chief value in accomplishing just what penalty could not do, that is, in clearing the guilty and inaugurating righteousness. Hence, "what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."

Carey, O. L. C. WEBSTER.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

"THE REVIVAL AND THE PASTOR."

THIS is a timely and valuable book for preachers, and for laymen as well, just issued by our publishing house. There are two classes of books very difficult to prepare, the one consisting of books intended for devotional purposes, and the other of books rich in suggestions for the salvation of men. The author of such works must have a deep religious experience, as well as spiritual and intellectual qualities of a high order. The *Imitation of Christ*, of Thomas à Kempis, is a classic among devotional manuals. So also is the *Tongue of Fire*, by the Rev. William Arthur. How many have been stimulated by these priceless books to higher thinking and nobler living eternity only can disclose. The late Dr. J. O. Peck's book, *The Revival and the Pastor*, will fitly take its place as a work essential to every young pastor in the prosecution of his duties as a minister. It has an introduction by Dr. J. M. Buckley, and is published by Hunt & Eaton in an attractive and convenient form.

Those who knew Dr. Peck only as a missionary secretary, in which capacity he was so eminently successful, did not always know that in his pastoral life he was, while a powerful preacher, also a most successful revivalist. His pastorates were for his churches "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." To human view he fell at his post all too soon. But in this book he has left a legacy to the Church by which, being dead, he yet speaketh. It is fitting that the "Itinerant's Club" should commend this work, because it is so eminently adapted for the study of our young preachers, especially at this period of the year. Our preachers are already making plans for special revival services, and everything that will help them in this work should be welcomed.

This book commends itself in that it emphasizes the great mission of the preacher. The direct work of the preacher is to win men to Christ—in other words, to save souls. "A genuine revival of religion is a gracious work of the Holy Spirit, unto righteousness, in human souls, characterized by unusual intensity and breadth of operation and commonly limited as to time." With this comprehensive definition as his thesis the author proceeds to develop his important subject. The discussion includes the nature of revivals, the relation of the pastor to them, the plan of evangelists, the preparatory work, the method of conducting the services, and the duties growing out of them, concluding with instances of remarkable conversions and counsels to young converts. Indeed, it answers almost all questions one is likely to ask, and is a discussion of the subject by one whose success in conducting revivals was and is unquestioned. What were the elements which made him so successful? He was conscious of the power of divine grace in his own salvation. He realized that converting power is not in man, but in God.

It would be impossible in the compass of this notice to give any descrip-

tion of this book which would do justice to our estimate of its importance to the young minister. It should be read for stimulus in the great work of soul-saving. There is danger lest the minister forget his main business. He may unconsciously grow into the habit, if not the belief, of regarding his work as completed when he has attended the prayer meeting and preached his sermons on the Sabbath. He must not be content with this. He must not be satisfied until he has used his best endeavors to lead men and women to Christ.

It shows also the duty of the preacher in preparing for revival services. As the seed must be sown before there can be any prospect of a harvest, so the pastor must prepare "the way of the Lord." It is well known that all successful workers in revivals make careful preparation by enlisting the church and securing the cordial coöperation of all Christian workers in advance of the formal efforts. Some instruction as to how this can best be accomplished is very important, especially to the young preacher. In Dr. Peck's book he will find a wise guide. Then, too, the actual conduct of the revival, the proper utilization of the forces which, as a pastor, it is his duty to command, and cognate themes are clearly and fully discussed. Indeed, it is a cyclopedia of information on the subject of revivals.

The book is also important in presence of the unfriendly attitude which many persons seem to have against the old-fashioned revivals. They regard them as antiquated, and say that the Church has outgrown them. They do this in spite of the fact that they themselves, and most of the earnest Christians in the Church, were converted in such revivals. They need to be shown how revivals may be conducted without the excesses and abuses of which they complain. That the Church cannot dispense with them is clear. They have been the source of her power since the day of Pentecost. The great Wesleyan movement is designated as the Wesleyan revival. The great revival under Jonathan Edwards is still the glory of New England Congregationalism. The Methodist churches trace their advance movements by the number of their revivals. They cannot, they must not, be dispensed with; but wherever errors have crept in, these should be corrected. One of the best means of doing this and of promoting apostolic revivals would be the circulation of this book, *The Revival and the Pastor*.

Space will not allow of extended quotations. A passage in chapter VII, on "Revival Power," suggests a danger, and also a remedy. It is a careful discrimination between the human and divine agencies. "The extra meetings, with unusual interest gathering around them; the intensified type of preaching, adapted to move the heart and will to action; the fervent prayers, filled with anxious pleading for the salvation of the impenitent; the solemn or joyful hymns, which awaken the emotions and stir the soul with hope or fear; and the appeals of pastor and relatives to the unconverted to escape a burning hell—all are human agencies. . . . To the sinner or skeptic a revival is nothing else. And in too many revivals, it must be confessed, there is too much dependence on this human machinery and too little reliance on the dynamics of our holy religion. . . . From the

patient study of the subject of revival power in Christian history the conviction will strengthen, that the Church is tending in the wrong direction when it multiplies and depends so much upon machinery and seems to realize so little its absolute helplessness without divine power. Stand at the beginning of Church history and study the facts. Christ is the great Teacher sent down from heaven. The whole philosophy of Christian conquest is contained in the New Testament. It has the seal of divine authority. It is simple and sublime, ample and almighty. What is this philosophy ? Not machinery, but power."

OPPORTUNISM IN THE MINISTRY.

THE ministry is a body of men connected with a Christian organization, whose object is the conversion of the world. Divers orders of ministers have been instituted. There are also individuals of various talents in the ministry, and each one is adapted to some special work. To find the place which each shall fill and the work for which each is adapted is the duty alike of the individual and of the organization. In some Churches this work is committed to the authorities, with absolute power to determine the specific field which the minister is to occupy. This is so in the Roman Catholic body, and also in our own Church. In one sense, the authority of the Church is absolute. In another sense, the minister himself determines his position by his own talents and capacity. It is the natural desire of those in authority to assign each person to the sphere of activity for which he is specially fitted.

In the ministry, as elsewhere, there is a desire to secure positions of greater prominence or, perhaps more strictly, of larger usefulness, and, consequently, a tendency to change from the smaller to the larger field. While this is natural and to be expected, it is not always wise, and sometimes is positively injurious, not only to the work, but to the man who secures the more prominent place. This question of change is one of the most perplexing questions which confronts the minister of the Gospel. In the Methodist Episcopal Church it is specially perplexing, because of the frequent opportunities for change. The appointments, although oftentimes practically for a term of five years, are in law made for one year only, and a transfer to another field of labor is possible at any session of the Conference. The Annual Conference sessions become points where the question is likely to arise, "Shall I seek a change of appointment this year or shall I remain until the close of my term?"

There are some who are scarcely ever satisfied with their assigned work. They are always seeking something which they, at least, hope will enlarge at once their usefulness and happiness, as well as their ecclesiastical position. This class of persons may fitly be termed, in modern nomenclature, opportunists. The new word "opportunism" has recently come into existence. It is only found in the later editions of our lexicons. The *Century Dictionary* defines it thus: "The principles or practices of opportunists, in any sense of that word; quickness to grasp favorable

opportunities and to modify one's conduct or policy in accordance with them; in a bad sense, the sacrifice of consistency and principles to policy." It is often used in the bad sense. The same authority employs an illustration taken from the *British Quarterly Review:* "Opportunism is becoming more and more a characteristic of all classes of politicians." Webster defines the term, "The art or practice of taking advantage of opportunities or circumstances, or of seeking immediate advantage with little regard for ultimate consequences."

There is a true and a false opportunism. When one anxiously awaits all opportunities to do good, when he seeks for them as for hidden treasures; when every change that occurs around him is looked upon as a fresh basis of action for the welfare of humanity and for self-improvement, he is an opportunist of the best kind. Many such there are among ministers and laymen. In the lower sense, an opportunist is one who is ever seeking means to improve his circumstances. This sort of opportunism is hindering the usefulness and lessening the tone of many of our most promising young preachers. Let us suppose a case. A preacher has been assigned to an appointment where he finds a people who cordially cooperate with him in all his efforts, a field adequate to his best powers for doing good, and yet, perhaps, in his estimation not as large as he is qualified to occupy. The people are loyal and devoted, and they say to one another, "We have a preacher who is precisely adapted to this place, and we hope he will long remain with us." In the same proportion in which the people appreciate his services he becomes restless and uneasy, and wonders when the time will come when he may leave this limited sphere for one where his abilities may have more abundant room. Instead of satisfaction with his present sphere, he looks anxiously for some place to open for him at the next Conference. If he were an opportunist of the best kind he would say, "I have found my opportunity and I will cultivate this field until Providence shall open my way to another sphere." He would settle down to his work cheerfully, and his success would be glorious. But if his opportunism is of the false kind he embraces the first opportunity to leave. His people are discouraged and wonder whether, after all, he is sincere in his devotion to his work. They soon attribute to him, often unjustly, mercenary or ambitious motives. Great damage is thus done to the cause of Christ. A false opportunism has destroyed many a promising career; while a steadfast devotion to one's work, regardless of fame or reward, has enabled many a preacher to do good work for the Master, and in the end to find that what he has sacrificed with a single eye to God's glory has given him the highest and noblest rewards possible.

CONFERENCE EXAMINATIONS.

Editor Itinerants' Club: I inclose a list of questions prepared for the third year's examination in the Des Moines Conference. I thought, perhaps, our experience in this might be suggestive to your department, which, by the way, is the one to which I first turn when I receive my

Review. The present plan was adopted at the session of 1892, and is now in the second year of its use. In our class we have the examinations at three different times of the year: about April 1, July 1, and at Conference time, which, with us, is usually the middle of September. So far the results have been very satisfactory. The plan gives a fair chance to the candidate, a better opportunity to the examiner, and does not crowd all the work of examination into one day, as under the old plan. It places in the hand of a member of the Conference, convenient to the undergraduate, test questions, which are opened and answered in his presence with no consulting of authorities. This insures perfect fairness and impartiality in the examinations. The Committee of Examination continue for four successive years, thus avoiding any confusion of plan by a change in the examiners. In our Conference a grade of seven in a scale of ten is necessary for passing the examination and for advancement to the next year. The following list of questions will indicate the character of the examination in one branch—that of hermeneutics:

1. Define the term "hermeneutics?"
2. State the rank and importance of this science in theological studies?
3. Name the eight sacred books of other religions with which our author compares the Bible?
4. State as briefly as you can the origin and peculiarities of the languages in which our Bible was written?
5. Name three evidences, each, for the human and divine element in the inspiration of the Bible?
6. Name the four degrees of inspiration suggested by our author?
7. What three qualifications should an interpreter of the Bible possess?
8. How many different methods of interpretation can you name?
9. State five important things to be considered in interpreting a scriptural passage?
10. Distinguish between a fable and a riddle, and give an instance of each?
11. Define a parable, and state wherein it differs from an allegory?
12. What three principles should be followed in interpreting types and symbols?
13. What can you say of the magnitude and scope of scriptural prophecy?
14. State some principles to be used in interpreting prophecy?
15. What does our author say in regard to a "double sense" in prophecy?
16. State some causes for the alleged discrepancies in Scripture?
17. At what three points of controversy are there alleged contradictions of science in Scripture?
18. What can you say in regard to the growth of the revelations of Scripture?
19. How does the progress of biblical science in this century compare with the past?
20. State the present condition of biblical interpretation?

Mount Ayr, Ia. C. L. NYE.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM.

It was generally known at the beginning of this year that the Sublime Porte had graciously granted to the Palestine Exploration Fund a firman, which was a permit for a two-years' excavation in Jerusalem. After the usual diplomatic correspondence the work was auspiciously commenced, under the direction of the Fund and in direct charge of that enthusiastic young American explorer, Mr. F. J. Bliss, already favorably known to the readers of the *Review* (see May–June number) from his labors at Tell-el-Hesy. Having spent several weeks on the ground awaiting formal permission from Constantinople and studying the topography, Mr. Bliss, with a force of experienced diggers, three of whom had worked when boys under Sir Charles Warren at Jerusalem and Jericho more than twenty-five years before, began work on the twenty-third day of last May.

Though several attempts have been made during the past fifty years to collect archæological data in the city of Jerusalem, and though explorations, more or less thorough in their nature, but on a limited scale and under peculiar disadvantages, have been carried on in this ancient city by Robinson, Warren, Conder, Schick, and others, none has had such promise of a rich harvest as this one under the management of Mr. Bliss. Though former excavations have been comparatively meager in results, there are many reasons why it should be otherwise with the present one. There never was a time when a larger number of enthusiastic biblical scholars have felt such a profound interest in, and such respect for, archæology. Never have the secrets of the buried past been more welcomed than to-day; and in no age have the ruins of ancient countries been more thoroughly explored than in our own. Zeal in this regard is not confined to any one country or people. Not only Great Britain and America, but France and Germany, are taking more than usual interest in turning the search-lights upon the silent ruins and tells of the Holy Land. Quarterlies devoted to such researches are now published in English, German, and French—the *Quarterly Statement*, by the Palestine Exploration Fund, *Zeitschrift des Palæstinischen Vereins*, by a society of Germans, and the *Revue Biblique*, by learned French ecclesiastics. Scarcely an issue of our leading theological magazines appears without recording some important discovery which throws much light upon some disputed question.

Just at present the eyes of scholars are turned upon Jerusalem. At no time have there been so many men in that ancient city qualified to carry on the work. Especially worthy of mention are the labors of Herr Schick, the architect, who has lived for many years in the Holy City and who, in his capacity of builder, while superintending the excavations for new houses, has had rare opportunities to become acquainted with the antiquities of the city. Mr. Bliss, in his article in the *Quarterly Statement* for

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July, makes special mention, also, of the work of the French Dominican and Augustinian friars, several of whom are engaged as professors in the School of Biblical Studies at the St. Stephen's Convent. These learned monks devote much time to the topography of the Holy City. They make regular tours with their students around Jerusalem, and at least twice a year more extended ones up and down Palestine, on either side of the river Jordan. The results of their investigations are regularly published in their organ, the *Revue Biblique*. It is scarcely necessary to add that some of the most interesting and instructive papers regarding modern Jerusalem have come from these French professors.

The site of the excavations now in progress is outside the city wall and south of the Armenian and Jewish quarters. Several shafts have been sunk in the vicinity of the English burial ground—that is, about a thousand feet south of the southwest corner of the wall. Some years ago Henry Maudsley traced for six hundred and fifty feet what was believed to have been the first wall of Jerusalem, which he called "the Rock Scarp of Zion." Mr. Bliss will endeavor to trace the same eastward, in accordance with the description of Josephus. Those who have studied the topography of Jerusalem know well that the walls and extent of this ancient city, captured and recaptured, built and rebuilt, so many times, must have changed greatly, if not every time the city was destroyed, yet in the course of ages. It is generally agreed that the present wall, built between 1536 and 1542 A. D., is nearly one fourth of a mile north of what has been termed the first wall. The area to be explored is believed to be the exact spot called the "city of David," where stood his own palace, that of his son Solomon, and, according to many, the Millo. Here also is the tomb of David, supposed to contain the remains, not only of David, but also of Solomon and other kings of Judah. The site selected is by general consent, if not the most ancient, yet the most interesting part of Jerusalem. Let us, therefore, hope that the present excavations will throw much light upon the early history of Israel. It is to be regretted that the space to be explored does not include the Temple area; for who can doubt that within those sacred precincts many an ancient treasure of inestimable value lies buried? Strange, indeed, will it be if subterranean vaults and passages are not discovered leading from the ancient palaces to the Temple or into some secret treasury.

It has been a source of surprise to many that, notwithstanding the labors of Warren, Conder, and others and the fact that much money has been spent from time to time, no such discoveries have been made in the ancient capital of Judah as in Egypt or Babylonia. With the exception of the Siloam inscription, accidentally discovered by a schoolboy who had the misfortune to lose his footing while wading in this pool, no ancient inscriptions have been brought to light in Jerusalem. That more historical documents have been found in the capitals of Egypt and Assyria than in the sacred city of the Jews must not be accounted for entirely upon the assumption that the former were more important and contained more inscriptions than the latter. One significant fact should

never be lost sight of, namely, that almost all the great discoveries in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates have been made among the ruined palaces, temples, and sepulchers of lost empires, where the few and uninfluential natives offered but little or no resistance. Jerusalem, however, has always been, from time immemorial, a city of considerable strength, numbering many thousands of inhabitants. Perhaps no city, ancient or modern, has had so much to render it sacred. Both Moslems and Christians, divided as they are into so many sects and nationalities, regard almost every rod of Jerusalem as holy ground not to be desecrated by the pick and spade of foreign adventurers, even though the latter may show positively that all their excavations are in the interest of science and civilization. It is vain, therefore, to expect that Jerusalem will ever be explored as Thebes and Nineveh have been.

It is exceedingly fortunate that the space selected is comparatively free from edifices of any kind. There are no sacred or military buildings which can interfere with the progress of the work. The few private residences or properties scattered here and there will not be difficult to manage, especially since the Turkish government is in full sympathy with the movement. It is also understood that the governor, Ibrahim Pasha, "a man of great intelligence and unquestioned integrity," will in every way further the efforts of the Fund. In short, the Ottoman power, the home officials, as well as public sentiment, are all favorable.

At the last advices from Mr. Bliss the work was progressing in a very satisfactory way. Almost every one of the many shafts already sunk had some story to tell. The continuation of the "Rock Scarp of Zion" has been traced, and the foundations of a very large tower have been exhumed. Many coins of different ages, a tessellated pavement in blue, red, yellow, and white, some Jewish pottery "belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries B. C.," one entire earthen lamp, fragments of Roman tiles, one of them bearing the stamp of the tenth legion, pieces of Roman glass, and some other articles have been unearthed. Several rooms and cisterns have been cleared out. One of the latter, some fourteen feet deep, contained several skulls and other human bones, some of the former showing clear marks of violence. There was nothing in this cistern to reveal any of the secrets connected with the ghastly find.

It is to be hoped that money will pour into the treasury of the Palestine Exploration Fund during the coming eighteen months, so that the excavations now in progress at Jerusalem may be pushed forward with diligence worthy of the undertaking.

ANTIQUITIES IN THE PLAIN OF JERICHO.

It is now more than twenty-five years since Lieutenant Warren, R.E., engaged in exploring what was supposed to be the site of ancient Jericho. The results of his excavations are so well known as to exclude the necessity of repeating them. This same spot was visited last spring by Canon Tristram and Mr. Bliss. Their visit, owing to the engagements of the

canon, had to be cut short; but the curiosity of Mr. Bliss, ever eager for adventure, was so aroused that, with an artist friend who could make drawings, he again returned to these venerable ruins, which he examined with considerable care, though in the very nature of the case not as thoroughly as desirable. He was, however, convinced that the ruins of Tell-es-Sultan and those of Tellul Abu el 'Aleik furnished "three distinct marks of Amorite or pre-Israelitish pottery, namely, a 'ledge-handle,' the palliened burnishing, and a peculiar molding, the material of the ware also being similar." His experience at Tell-el-Hesy entitles him to speak with authority upon the subject of Palestinian pottery.

Near the base of the mound called Tell-es-Sultan, which is supposed to be the veritable site of the Jericho stormed by Joshua, Mr. Bliss found traces of a "mud-brick wall *in situ.*" The sight of this ancient wall produced a peculiar effect upon him; for, after describing it at some length, he concludes with great warmth of feeling by saying: "If Tell-es-Sultan is a mass of *débris*, caused by the ruin of several mud-brick towns over the first Jericho, then there is no good reason to suppose that this wall is the very wall which fell before Joshua."

Some two miles from these ruins the canon and Mr. Bliss accidentally came upon three low mounds out of which workmen were engaged in quarrying stone. The regularity of the trenches from which the stone had been taken was of such a nature as to attract immediate attention. Upon closer investigation these mounds proved to be the ruins of an immense structure, thirteen hundred and fifty feet long by about six hundred feet wide, the walls of which varied in thickness. Everything about this huge edifice indicated that it had been a place of great splendor. It was furnished with water by means of an aqueduct, which connected it with a neighboring hill. Some of the walls must have been of very fine marble, fragments of which, as well as pieces of plaster with elegant frescoes in many colors, were found in large quantities among the *débris.* There were, also, unearthed several broken columns, pilasters, and some very fine stuccowork. The Arab laborers engaged in removing the stone from these ancient walls for the construction of a new edifice assured Mr. Bliss that they had found several inscriptions in some foreign language—probably Greek or Latin—which, as they could not understand them, were either destroyed or reburied among the rubbish. There were no unmistakable data found to aid in determining the age of these walls. Though both Mr. Bliss and Canon Tristram were at first inclined to regard them as the remains of the palace bought by Herod the Great from Cleopatra, the former is now convinced that they could not have been built earlier than 600 A. D., and possibly several centuries later.

Mr. Bliss fully believes that these tells in the plain of Jericho contain many a secret and, for that reason, should be systematically explored. Such a work, he thinks, would be attended with results as varied as they would be valuable. "Light would be thrown on its pre-Israelitish history, on the times of Christ, on the early Christian period, and upon that of the Crusades."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

DENOMINATIONAL COMITY IN FOREIGN MISSION FIELDS.

In his report, as Director-General of the Missions in South Africa, in the *Allgemeine Missions Zeitschrift*, Rev. B. Buchner complains that the rivalry of the different denominations in the mission field is hurtful to the common cause. He says, "The greatest sinners in this respect are the Methodists and the Church of England." The Church of England goes where it pleases, on the theory that it is the State Church, in the British colony as well as at home, and, of course, holds that it is the only true Church. The Methodists, Dr. Buchner says, "follow the rule that all their members must be kept in the Church at all hazards; and to do this they will go to no end of trouble in visiting their converts, even if, perchance, these converts move to a long distance."

Of the merits of this case in South Africa it is not in our way to write; but charges have been made of a similar character against the Methodist Episcopal Church in India. There was, and is, in India a general recognition of the economy of distributing unoccupied territory among the several missions. Our own Missionary Society has recognized this method strictly through most of its history; but in later years the whole policy has been opened to discussion. In the development of the general work it was manifest from the start that, unless very exceptional conditions obtained, this policy could not be applied to great cities like Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Naturally, the development of work of the several societies from those centers would result in the interpenetration of the missions in the outlying territory. Thus, at least one general exception could not fail to arise. Besides this, whole sections of the country were claimed to have been assigned to societies which could not, or did not, develop the work. Several millions of people in a great stretch of territory could scarcely be excluded from the missionary labors of societies which could do successful work because the society claiming to "occupy" them had a single missionary in the field and no funds or agents to push forward their plans. Some very flagrant cases of such "occupancy" came to be conceded as a second class of exceptions to the practical application of the rule.

But later on, as the several missions grew, it became manifest that some could do kinds of work which others could not do, and that these must needs interpenetrate the geographical divisions. The demand for a revision and modification of the policy was apparent. It goes without the saying that some would have held to the original policy as still the best. But there were providences that enlarged the number of exceptional cases quite beyond the control of all the missions. Christians found specific opportunities for advancing the kingdom of God in districts to which they were providentially removed; or communities were led to Christ

through a definite agency which seemed to them the best agency for their nurture, and they chose their relation with that agency.

Altogether it became plain that, while the principle of the original compact was still to be recognized, the cases demanding exceptional treatment were so numerous that no rule could artificially cover the situation any longer, and that the whole case must be relegated to common sense and a fraternal Christian spirit. The discussion culminated in the Calcutta General Missionary Conference, the largest body of missionaries in the world meeting at short stated intervals. Before this Conference Bishop Thoburn read a paper on "Missionary Comity," defending the modification of intermission work as under certain conditions a providential necessity.

From the entrance of William Taylor into India the Methodist Episcopal Church in that land has confronted "a condition, not a theory." In his remarkable address before the Central Conference of India, a delegated body meeting biennially, Bishop Thoburn made reference to the strictures and criticisms on the Methodist Episcopal missions in India, on account of their new policy of recognizing divine providences as overriding the traditional, artificial, geographical division. He maintained that many of the charges made against them were unjust, and that, having been led by great success to do work among depressed classes whose relationships crossed all political and geographical lines, they had only followed the indications of divine Providence. He declared that thousands had been gathered in thus who would have otherwise remained heathen. He distinctly recognized that this policy was to be pursued with discretion and full regard for all interests of other societies, and that Methodism would not enter fields where others were already doing successful work. Nor would she accept agents from other missions without first consulting such missions; in fact, it were better not to take them at all, but to raise up agents of her own. The bishop said, "Indeed, I very sincerely doubt if any score of missionaries in India have yielded so many disputed points as I have done in my official capacity during the past five years." It is among the recognized advantages of our having a bishop in India that a central administrative authority can thus expound definitely the purpose and plan of our whole Church in the empire. The editor of the *Harvest Field*, an able monthly Wesleyan magazine published at Madras, said, in reviewing this episcopal address, "It is not often that we can find one person with full knowledge speaking on behalf of one Church working in various parts of India;" and it is small matter of surprise that he should add, "There is a ring of victory running through it."

We are not "set for the defense" of the Wesleyan Church in South Africa against such charges as those of Dr. Buchner above mentioned; but if they have no better foundation than those brought against us in India they scarcely need that any rejoinder be made to them.

THE ROMANISTS AND BIBLE CIRCULATION.

Missionary Schaub, in *Die Bibel in China*, recalls some facts which are of interest as showing the permanent policy of the Roman Catholic

Church in the matter of the free distribution of the Scriptures. The priests at Seu-Ka-Wai, near Shanghai, took much interest in the discussion of the great General Conference of Protestant Missionaries at Shanghai as to whether the distribution of the Bible, without note or comment, by the great Bible societies, was productive of such results as justified the expense and toil involved. That the circulation of the Scripture text, without any introductory or explanatory notes, among heathen or non-Christian people totally unfamiliar with the facts narrated might be a subject for diversity of opinion is readily conceivable; but whether this is the occasion of the Roman Catholic opposition to Bible distribution is quite a different matter.

But the Romanists have done something in foreign missions by way of translations. In Mexico, for instance, they translated portions of the Scriptures into some of the vernaculars. This was the case with the gospel of Luke, which was translated into Nahuatl. A copy of this translation was found a few years since, and, after revision, an edition of it was printed at the Methodist press in the city of Mexico for use among the Nahuatl tribes—the Aztec race of Mexico, numbering, according to varying estimates, from one and a half to three millions of people. But this translation was never designed by the Romanists for general circulation. It was only a handbook to help the priests in presenting the Gospel orally to the Aztec races.

Yet it appears from Mr. Schaub's *résumé* that they went further than this, though under external pressure, in China. Father Ricci, in the early days of the Jesuit missions to China, excused himself from translating the Scriptures into Chinese on account of lack of time, though he found time enough, as is well known, for the translation of Western mathematical works. When persecution came a high State official, who had become a Catholic Christian and who defended the Christians, proposed the translation of the Scriptures, that the people might judge of their doctrines from first-hand sources. But nothing was done in this direction at that time except to render into an easy literary style certain portions of the Scriptures, such as the gospel lessons of the Ritual, to which were added explanations. This was the work of Father Dias, a Portuguese, republished in eight volumes, much esteemed by both Romanists and Protestants. Again in 1660 the demand was made for original sources of information regarding the Christian religion. The charge was made by the natives that many parts of the Scriptures had been suppressed. This resulted in a granting of the papal permission for a translation or close rendering of the Bible into Chinese. But it does not appear that any such translation was ever printed and circulated, though Mr. Schaub finds what seems to him satisfactory evidence that such a translation was made and still exists somewhere in manuscript. An Italian traveler visiting Peking in 1696 affirms that "the missionaries have translated the works of St. Thomas and the Bible." Mr. Schaub thinks there must be several translations in manuscript; for a member of the East India Company procured a copy of one in Canton in 1739, which

work, "now in the British Museum, contains a gospel harmony and St. Paul's epistles."

All this, however, gives no indication of anything different in the policy of the Roman Catholic Church at any time, in any part of the heathen mission field, from that which is known to be its policy to-day—to withhold the Bible from the people. The Roman Catholic missionaries are deserving of great credit for much of their literary productions in the vernaculars of the mission fields of the world, and much greater use might be made than has been done of some of these literary survivals; but the contrast between their policy in regard to the distribution of the Bible and that of the Protestant missions, which have always sought in every land to render the sources of our religion accessible to every Christian and to every heathen, remains as a permanent difference in the missionary methods of the two parties.

Apropos of this discussion, we may say that the objection to the circulation of the Scriptures in China is not on the ground of the poverty of the translation. The Chinese Secretary of Legation at Washington, in his address at the Parliament of Religions, did charge that the translation is a poor one; but the Rev. Timothy Richards replies that this could not be because of the employment of an incompetent person to do the work, since the most literary viceroy in the empire to-day, Wang T'au, employs the same scholar who translated our standard Scriptures to do his literary work. A new translation, too, will soon be given to the public.

Nor can the opposition be based on the lack of demand among the people of the world for the opportunity to study the sources of the sacred truths of Christianity at first hand. The British and Foreign Bible Society report in China thirteen thousand more books sold in 1893 than in 1892 by colporteurs, and double the number at the book depots. The people of India exhibit a like desire for access to the original literature of the Christian religion. The *Madras Christian Magazine* says that the growing demand for the Scriptures in the vernaculars of that presidency has necessitated the printing of larger editions than in former years and the opening up of fresh centers of distribution. The Japanese have shown a like eagerness for the text. About ten years ago a "Scripture Union" was started in Japan, which now reports a membership of 13,000, with a traveling secretary. The Bible House at Yokohama sold 4,806 Bibles, 16,265 Testaments, and 16,534 smaller portions of the Scriptures in 1893, more than a million copies having been previously circulated. The demand for the Bible in Italy is well-nigh phenomenal. Dr. Alexander Robertson, writing to the *Rock*, says, "The Italians have become Bible buyers and Bible readers." In Uganda, Equatorial Africa, the eagerness of the people to receive the Bible in their own tongue, which leads them to give their most precious treasures for it, has moved Monsignor Hirth to seek permission from Rome to circulate a Romish version; and the French Roman Catholic Missionary on the Congo, Monsignor LeRoy, has appealed for a like permission, and is reported to have suggested that the Roman Catholics form a Bible Society!

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Ernst Scharfe. Among the Germans the scholars and thinkers are by no means confined to the professors in the universities. Much of the very best and most influential work is done by the pastors. Of this class of pastors is Scharfe, who has contributed to the theological magazines articles of value and who commands the respect of the best thinkers of Germany. In a recent book (*Die Petrinische Strömung der neutestamentliche Literatur*—The Petrine Stream in the Literature of the New Testament) he investigates the literary peculiarities of the First Epistle of Peter, the Gospel of Mark, and the Petrine addresses in the Acts of the Apostles, to show that the style in all three is so much alike and their theological contents so evidently identical as to prove their common origin. To his mind, therefore, it is plain that there is far more of Peter's work in the New Testament than most critics will allow. The argument in favor of his view, drawn from the comparison of the style in the three portions of the New Testament by him attributed to Peter, seems very unsatisfactory. The argument from style is generally of but little account, and is always exceedingly difficult of judicious application. In this case it is less valuable than usual for reasons now to be given. Even if we admit, without question, that Peter was sufficiently acquainted with the Greek to have written in that language it would still remain to be proved that he actually composed anything but the first epistle. Even this is declared to have been written by Silvanus, at the behest of Peter. While, therefore, it represents the views of Peter, it might be possible that its literary style is that of Silvanus, instead of Peter. With regard to Mark's gospel it is not pretended, except by Scharfe, that Peter composed it or any part of it. It cannot be more than the gospel, as conceived by Peter, written down in Mark's own style. The same must be true of the Petrine addresses in the Acts. They are, at most, Luke's reproduction, in his own style, of Peter's thoughts. On the supposition that Peter inspired all three the theology would be essentially the same. But if we are to suppose a greater or less freedom on the part of Mark and in Luke, not to mention Silvanus, there must be some other way of accounting for the supposed similarity of style. As a writer Scharfe is clear, and he has a power of representation which few men of any country possess.

Professor Dr. Georg Runze. Among those who have given attention to comparative religion in Germany he stands in the front rank. Specially interesting is his treatment of the faith in the immortality of the soul, and particularly where his inquiry is along psychological lines. He raises, first, the question, What are the causes and conditions under which the doctrine of immortality has been psychologically developed? and,

secondly, Why is it that the doctrine is not everywhere equally strong, is often weakest where culture is highest, and not seldom is denied, even by those whose standpoint is religion ? In order to answer these questions he studies the motives which prompt the belief. He finds that the doctrine originates, first, subjectively, out of the fear of death, on the one side, and the desire to conquer the grave, on the other; secondly, out of the activity of the phantasy, especially out of dream life in its analogy with real life; thirdly, out of the inexplicable mystery which forces itself upon us in death, and with which a sort of intellectual terror combines, bringing us face to face with the question, After death, what ? and, fourthly, out of the postulates of the ethical will, both negatively, especially out of the demands of the conscience, and positively, out of the effort to reach perfection and in the consciousness of the infinite worth of the human personality. These four motives have often appeared in combination and especially associated with the belief in God. But while all four of them work together in the Christian doctrine of immortality they are often found operating separately, or even destroying each other. It will be seen that by this classification Runze does away with the geographical and ethnological method of treatment. Regardless of geographical location or racial lineage, he attempts to find the psychological causes which have produced or prevented the belief in immortality. There may be a question as to whether he has succeeded in exhausting the subject from this standpoint; but there can be no question as to the superiority of the method. Ignoring race distinctions, it studies the existence of the faith, not only in its forms, but in its producing causes. Races the most unlike in other respects may hold the doctrine of immortality in the same form and from the same causes.

Professor Dr. F. Kattenbusch. Little is heard, comparatively, of the University of Giessen, although some of Germany's ablest theologians, as, for example, Kattenbusch, are there. He is a firm believer in the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. He regards it as a mere prejudice, arising in some cases from a philosophical system, to reject miracles as impossible. On the other hand, those who allow the possibility of the miraculous in history must not at once accept the resurrection of Jesus. But the resurrection of our Lord will stand the test of the most critical examination. It is, in fact, demanded by what is related prior thereto concerning him. Jesus himself seems to have felt that he would not be fully revealed except by his resurrection. He felt that his calling did not end with his life upon earth. Not merely was it his thought that, on account of the richness of his life upon earth, his influence would live after him, but it was only a rich life in his estimation because he was able to overcome death. Hence, it is credible that the apostles should have believed themselves to have seen him after his resurrection. The expectation of Jesus and the belief of the apostles agree. The question is not, whether the dead have risen and reappeared, but whether Jesus, who claimed to be the Messiah of God, arose and appeared. What would be incredible

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in reference to anyone else is credible with regard to Jesus. To his character resurrection and reappearance are so agreeable as to make them credible, and even to be demanded. Along with all this Kattenbusch holds, with the majority of modern theologians, that this whole revelation of Jesus, including his resurrection and heavenly state, is a fact which each Christian can know by his own experience. So that, while he would hold that the resurrection is a part of the foundation of our faith, he would not regard the proof of it as arising from the record so much as from our own experiences. What we have hitherto pointed out in the *Review*, namely, the mystical tendency which arises from a decreasing emphasis upon the Scripture record, finds here another illustration.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Religionsphilosophie in Umriss" (Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion), by Professor Dr. Rudolf Seydel. After the death of the gifted author, in December, 1892, this book was published by Professor Schmiedel; one of his former pupils. One of its striking features is its strong defense of the employment of metaphysics in theology. The author thinks that in the development of theology the historical, empirical method is not sufficient. A religious system is to be thought out in ideal form; and to this our adherence is to be given. To our thinking no greater mistake could possibly be made than this oft-repeated experiment. If this can be done apart from revelation, then everyone having a different ideal will have a different system. There would then be no possibility of a true religious communion. If, however, a valid system can only be formed with the aid of revelation, then the method proposed by Seydel is a failure. The Christian revelation, especially when its fullness and extent are considered, is a proof that the philosophic method is insufficient. Not from man's study of man's nature and religious needs, but from God's study, if we may so speak, must come the religious system demanded for the best interests of humanity. Men, profiting by the revelation of God in the Bible, may flatter themselves that they are devising a perfect system; but in truth they draw their inspiration from the book. Other features of the work before us please us more. For example, when he describes religion as being not *a* relation, but *the* relation to God, a seeking of God himself, who, when found, is himself the totality of blessedness to the soul, he utters a great truth. He carries this idea so far as to say that, since God is the highest conceivable object of our religious endeavor, we cannot make him the means for the attainment of any other object more worthy; that is, God is everything to those who hold communion with him. When he comes to the characterization of faith, in comparison with love and hope, we must differ from him again. Love is, indeed, the root of religion, as he says, and hope is, perhaps, well defined as the pleasurable feeling connected with the belief in a favorable final outcome; but faith is not an immediate knowledge of that outcome.

Faith is not knowledge, and if it were it would not be immediate. Faith, in any form which affects practical life, is almost exclusively a matter of feeling, not of intelligence, and, so far as it relates to the future life, is scarcely distinguishable from hope.

"**Die Wissenschaft der Christlichen Lehre**" (The Science of Christian Doctrine), by Professor Dr. M. Kähler. This is a thoroughly revised edition of a work which appeared in parts during the years 1883, 1884, and 1887. It takes up the whole theological system, under the heads of apologetics, dogmatics, and ethics. Very interesting in these days is it to find Kähler affirming that, not alone from the portrait of Jesus, as found in the gospels, but also from the faith of the apostles concerning him, are we to obtain a true conception of his person. To this view it is objected by some that, if we are to take into account the experiences of the apostles, we cannot know but that these are not so much real as imaginary—the product rather of their wish than of their actual experience. But Kähler is not troubled by this objection, being convinced that the apostles were thoroughly permeated with the spirit of Jesus when he still lived upon the earth. To Kähler Jesus was not merely he who appeared in the flesh, but also he who rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and overcame guilt, sin, temptation, and death. But this Jesus we know only through the testimony of the apostles. Even the resurrection of Jesus, therefore, he regards as a part of the foundation of our faith, as well as of its contents. It was as much a part of his revelation as were his life and death. Hence, we must accept all that is told us by the apostles concerning Christ. The attempt to disconnect Jesus from the utterances of the apostles concerning him is not agreeable to Kähler. And rightly does he maintain that the whole New Testament is necessary to an understanding of the true nature of our Lord. We may not take as little or as much of the New Testament as we please and reject all the rest. Jesus is there portrayed to us as a personage who came from heaven, lived on earth, died, rose again, and went back to heaven, and who is now active there in our behalf. The record of him throughout is so harmonious that the things recorded cause no surprise. To a reflecting mind it would create surprise if less or other were related of him. The apostles may, indeed, emphasize certain phases of his character and life; but they add nothing which could in any way rob their utterances of trustworthiness.

"**Paulus in Athen**" (Paul in Athens), by Professor Dr. Ernst Curtius. A work on such a subject from such an author demands attention. Curtius begins by discussing the address of Paul on Mars' Hill. Contrary to the usual opinion, he thinks that this was delivered, not on Mars' Hill, but in a room in the market place known as the Areopagus. He finds a number of evidences of Hellenic culture in the address itself, and then passes on to a consideration of the Pauline epistles, in which the effects of Hellenism are, as he thinks, very apparent. Some of these evidences

are in the form of stylistic correspondence with heathen writers; others are in the form of direct quotations; and still others are reproductions of heathen thoughts, similes, references to customs, or methods of argumentation. Thus, Curtius takes sides against those who regard Paul as a Christianized rabbin. Between their view of Paul and that held by Curtius there is not much preference. Both are wrong. Paul was so completely under the control of Christianity that he was no longer either Jewish or Hellenic. From Christ, not from Judaism or from Hellenism, Paul drew his inspiration. It is our decided opinion that too much is made of these apparent similarities between Paulinism and Hellenism. Comparing the Hellenistic element in Paul with the Judaistic, we find the former to be very small indeed; and especially small is it in comparison with the distinctively Christian elements in his writings. On the other hand, it is a groundless fear experienced by many when evidence of a heathen influence in the Pauline writings is brought forward. That the great drift of his doctrines was affected by that influence no one would assert. That there should be an occasional truth known to heathenism which might be useful even to an inspired writer surely no one would deny. The danger from the side of Judaism is not feared by those who dread the slightest mention of a heathen influence. And yet the essential features of the Judaism of Paul's time would, if introduced into his system, as surely rob it of its Christian character as would the essential principles of heathenism. Only those who would have the apostolic writings absolutely the product of an inspiration which left the writers no room for the exercise of their own human faculties will be alarmed to find Paul under the influence of Hellenism when he writes. All the Hellenism found in Paul utterly fails to make him less or other than a Christian.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Evangelical Social Congress. The last session was held in Frankfort-am-Main during pentecost week. The congress is composed of representatives of various political and evangelical theological parties, and has for its purpose the introduction of better social conditions, especially with a view to the furtherance of morality and religion. The recent session was attended chiefly by preachers, professors, politicians, and high public officers. The woman question came up for discussion, and the majority were inclined to allow women representation in the congress. Professor Dr. Cremer, of Greifswald, spoke on the subject of the "Social Question and Preaching." He thought it contrary to the duty of a preacher to treat social questions from the economic and political side; but yet the preacher dare not pass such questions by. Preaching must emphasize the fact that all a Christian is and has he is and has because of the grace of God, and that he should, therefore, feel that it is given him, not for himself alone, but in order that he may be a blessing to others. Professor Dr. Harnack, the great Church historian, had been appointed to treat the

subject in the light of history. He thought the social obligations of the Church were more weighty to-day than ever before, not because poverty and misery are greater or churchly benevolence less or self-sacrificing workers fewer, but because of the greater education and independence of those with whom we have to deal, because our conscience is awakened as to our duty to all the members of society as never before, and because large masses of the people are alienated, not only from the Church, but also from Christianity. The highest social obligation of the Church is the preaching of the Gospel, the truth which makes free, and the faith which recognizes the fact that the salvation of the soul is independent of earthly conditions, and which attacks and overcomes sin as the most fruitful source of all misery. The object of all the practical efforts of the Church should be to build up the individual congregation into a vigorous and helpful brotherhood. His address of two hours was received with tremendous applause, although one member of the congress, more zealous than wise, undertook to rebuke Harnack's supposed heterodoxy, but was speedily called down.

Institutions for Deaconesses and Lay Deacons. The central Deaconess Home in Berlin has 274 sisters in its service, of whom 29 entered last year as probationers. The work is carried on in 45 stations. The Deaconess Mother House in Breslau celebrated its twentieth anniversary last year, and has 178 sisters at work in 149 stations, within and without Silesia. These sisters have charge of a number of young women's societies having a total membership of 1,130. The Dresden Deaconess Home has 365 sisters, who serve a vast number of stations. The deaconess movement has spread far beyond the limits of Germany. The *Institut des Diaconisses unies*, in Paris, numbers 57 sisters and 18 pupils, who during the past year nursed 447 persons in the hospital, taught 120 children in the infant schools, and cared for 39 girls who needed oversight. They also conduct a refuge for women and children in Nanterre, a home for convalescents in Passy, and have charge of the Protestant prisoners in Clermont and other prisons. In Halifax a home for female evangelists has been established, the duty of the sisters being to carry the Gospel to the poorest and most depraved classes. The Deacons' Home in Basel recently celebrated its fifth anniversary. Twenty brothers have gone out from this home to different Swiss cities and there give Christian care to the sick. Methodism, too, has a share in the spread of this good work. The first deaconess home in Canada was recently opened in Toronto. Many young women have already applied for admission, and it appears as though the enterprise would prove very successful.

Seaman's Home in Naples. That in such a city a Protestant institution should be established and maintained on temperance principles gives evidence of progress. Perhaps such an establishment is more needed there than in most other ports of the world. The place is infested by an im-

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mense number of people whose livelihood is secured as the agents of the most depraved inhabitants, and who leave no stone unturned to arouse, and then to gratify, the basest passions of the sailors. Since this home was established, in 1882, the number of different guests has been 970; and they came from forty different nationalities. The managers of the home have given away 63,000 pamphlets and 12,738 copies of the Holy Scriptures, and have pledged 8,260 persons to total abstinence. Its supporters are found, not only among Italians, but also among Americans, Englishmen, Swedes, Danes, and other nationalities. Everything possible is done to shield the visiting sailor from temptation.

The East German Young Men's League. There are now one hundred and eighty-five youths' and men's associations connected with this organization, with over ten thousand members in Brandenburg, Saxony, Pomerania, East and West Prussia, Posen, and the Duchy of Anhalt. The headquarters of the league are in Berlin. There also are situated the bureau for East Prussia, the treasuries for savings and mutual assistance, the warerooms for the storage of the unsold books written in the interest of the league, and the publishing house for the *Bundesbote*, the organ of the league, as well as a home for the members, in which such of them as find work in Berlin can secure healthful lodgings and the best of care. The means for the conduct of this important work are collected in part by voluntary contributions, but chiefly by means of an annual bazaar.

Rescue Stations and Refuges in Germany. A few years ago Germany had an army of vagabonds numbering over 200,000. These "tramped" from place to place, and often terrorized the inhabitants. Such is no longer the case. On the contrary, antibegging societies are found everywhere, and these undertake the support of rescue stations and refuges. Any needy persons applying at these places are furnished with work by which they can readily earn their food and lodging. No intoxicating drinks are furnished in these places. Recent statistics show that the number of these institutions amounted to 2,321, and that they had given out tickets for 1,662,606 breakfasts, 972,490 dinners, 1,871,551 suppers, and 2,223,000 lodgings, all for work done.

The University of Dorpat. The Russian government seems to be doing all in its power to cripple this Protestant university. It recently sent a message to the faculty asking how soon it would be possible for them to give their lectures in Russian. The faculty answered that it would be altogether impracticable for them to lecture in Russian, since the Protestant literature is in the German, and that if the lectures were in Russian preaching would have to be in Russian also, which is forbidden in Russia. The faculty sent their dean, Professor Volk, to St. Petersburg to persuade the Minister of Public Instruction to allow the theological faculty to continue in the old paths.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

SOME of the famous men of the world have lately honored magazine literature with their contributions. Conspicuous as they are for their virtues, their social rank, their leadership of any sort, their judgment merits attention upon the current questions which move the nations. Because of what they are, they speak as oracles which men should hear. Prominent among these contributors to periodical literature is Mr. Gladstone, who writes in the *Nineteenth Century* for September on "True and False Conceptions of the Atonement." The basis of his article is one of the propositions mentioned by Mrs. Besant in her autobiography, to which, after a crisis in her experience, she once addressed herself—this proposition being "the nature of the atonement of Christ and the justice of God in accepting a vicarious suffering from Christ and a vicarious righteousness from the sinner." Of the twelve ethical considerations laid down by Mr. Gladstone it is not possible to speak in full. Regarding human redemption he says: "Man is brought back from sin to righteousness by a holy training; that training is supplied by incorporation into the Christ who is God and man; and that Christ has been constituted, trained, and appointed to his office in this incorporation through suffering. His suffering, without any merit of ours, and in spite of our guilt, is thus the means of our recovery and sanctification. And his suffering is truly vicarious; for if he had not thus suffered on our behalf we must have suffered in our helpless guilt." Of heavenly justice in accepting Christ's vicarious suffering the writer also remarks: "The atonement of Christ, so far from involving deviation from the established laws of divine justice, has its foundations deeply laid in the moral order of the world, and is an all-powerful instrument for the promotion of righteousness." Altogether, Mr. Gladstone's article is of exceptional importance. As a man of generous scholarship, until lately a great leader in English politics, and a Christian sage whose sun is westering in brilliant colors, he has here furnished a safe antidote to the poison of Mrs. Besant's autobiography.

In the *Contemporary* for September is a noticeable article by Andrew Carnegie, entitled "Britain and the United States: Cost of Living." The purpose of the paper is to show that the expense of living for the workingman is less on this side of the ocean than in Europe. The author quotes various statistics to prove the point. The reader will, however, be inclined to challenge some of the figures which Mr. Carnegie cites; as when he instances the price of a wearable suit as but $4.50, or claims that "in the center of population in the United States the cost of coal does not exceed 8*s*. per ton." In short, the general impression conveyed by the article is that its writer has, though in good faith, overstated the possibilities of cheap living in the United States. His conclusion, from his own standpoint, is as follows: "Whether America be the El Dorado of the workingman or not depends upon the workingman himself. He and his

family can now live for less than a family in Britain, if they will live as frugally. . . . That is to say, a pound sterling in the new land, judiciously spent for the necessaries of life by the workingman and his family, will to-day purchase more of these in the new than in the old home of our race—a fact probably fraught with far-reaching consequences upon both sides of the Atlantic in the not distant future."

The article on "Catholicism and Apaism," by Bishop Spalding, in the September *North American Review*, of course speaks from the standpoint of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. One matter of history, from that standpoint, seems especially noticeable—the reason for the presence of a permanent papal delegation at Washington. The bishop says: "The Faribault episode, in itself insignificant, became the occasion of sending a papal envoy here and of establishing a permanent papal delegation in Washington, which, from whatever point it be considered, is an affair of grave moment. From the beginning the American bishops, whenever consulted, strongly opposed the founding of such an institution here. When the question was put to the archbishops at their meeting in New York, in the fall of 1892, it was their almost unanimous opinion that it would be unwise to appoint a delegate for this country, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that the bishops, had the matter been proposed to them, would have taken the same view. The question of a delegation is, of course, not a question of faith, or morals, or discipline, or rule, affecting the whole Church, but one of ecclesiastical policy; and those whose knowledge of the country was most accurate and intimate believed that the establishment of a papal delegation here would be bad policy. Whether they have been justified by the event, so far as the internal affairs of the Church are concerned, it is not necessary here to inquire; but that the delegate has been and is a source of strength to the Apaists there can be no doubt." Such a voice from the inner counsels of American Romanism is at least suggestive.

THE opening article in the October number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, by Z. Swift Holbrook, discusses "Christian Sociology." It puts the weightiest of responsibilities on Christianity, in the transition through which society is passing, and expects much of Christianity in the new century. Professor G. Frederick Wright follows with an inspiring article on "The Adaptations of Nature to the Intellectual Wants of Man." The article by Professor D. W. Simon, on "The Nature and Scope of Systematic Theology," is his inaugural address, delivered at the Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford, England. "The Evolution of Anarchy," by Jean Frederick Loba, D.D., outlines the work of such social leaders as Saint-Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Robert Dale Owen, Lassalle, and Karl Marx. From his hurried review the author's conclusion is threefold: that the socialistic movement is human and humane, that it has been hindered, if not worse, "through the one-sided character of its leaders," and that anarchy in State and society has been "due to the violence of

individual characters" and does not "enter naturally into the principles of the reformers." Professor Warfield next discusses "The Inspiration of the Bible" in a wholesome spirit. Holding to the view of plenary inspiration, he aims to show that this theory has always been the Church doctrine, that it was the doctrine held by Christ and his apostles, and that it is the foundation of Christian thought and life. The sixth article, by Professor Roe, of Oberlin, is entitled "The Probability of Freedom: A Critique on Spinoza's Demonstration of Necessity." In the next article, on "The Outlook for Islam," the Rev. D. L. Leonard declares that Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, and Confucianism constitute "the mightiest antagonists of Christianity" among organized religious forces, and believes that the first of the trio is "full as likely as either of the other two to endure for centuries and maintain to the end a sturdy and desperate resistance to the Gospel." At the same time he finds in such facts as the recent conversion of one hundred and seventeen Mussulmans of distinction an encouraging omen. The concluding article, by Howard Osgood, is on keeping Christ's word. In the editorial departments "Sociological Notes" appears for the first time and promises a valuable treatment of current social questions from the standpoint of Christian scholarship.

The *London Quarterly* for October reviews various important publications of recent date, under the headings: 1. "Drummond's 'Ascent of Man;'" 2. "Francis Thompson, A Study in Temperament;" 3. "Two Noble Lives, and Another;" 4. "Morocco, Past and Present;" 5. "Paraguay;" 6. "Town Life in the Fifteenth Century;" 7. "The Egyptian Patriotic Movement of 1893;" 8. "Cock Lane and Common Sense;" 9. "Mr. Gladstone on Heresy and Schism." In the first article, the writer thinks it may be shown that Professor Drummond is "in far too great a hurry to consider evolution established, even so far as science is concerned." The second article finds in Francis Thompson "a rare, if not a great poet." The fourth article shows the stagnation of Morocco; the fifth traces the development of Paraguay, describes its flora and fauna, and cautiously considers its inducements to immigration. The sixth article notices two volumes by Mrs. J. R. Green, issued in fulfillment of her promise to her late husband, the historian. Attempting a difficult task in the portrayal of English town life in the fifteenth century, she has created, says the reviewer, a "bright oasis of knowledge" in the midst of "a vast region of unpenetrated, but . . . not impenetrable, mystery." An illustration of the straits sometimes prevailing for lack of ready money is given in the following reminiscence: "Sir John Paston, the owner of broad estates in Norfolk, . . . was forced more than once to pawn his gown of velvet and 'other gear' in London to get a few marks, and when it occurred to him to raise money on his father's funeral pall he found that his mother had been beforehand with him; she had pawned it herself." The glimpse which the author gives of the sports, games, and pageants, the holiday recreations, and the stage performances of that early

day is also highly entertaining. In 1411, we are told, the great play, "From the Beginning of the World," at the Skinner's Well in London, lasted continuously for seven days; at Canterbury, the chief play was "The Martyrdom of S. Thomas," the cost of the performance being "carefully entered in the municipal account books." The eighth article notices three important books by Andrew Lang, Dr. Buckley, and Dr. Weatherly, whose discussion of ghosts, spiritualism, witchcraft, and other strange happenings merits a fuller notice than is here possible.

THE *North American Review* for October opens with a discussion of the "Issues of the Coming Elections," by Representatives William L. Wilson and Thomas B. Reed. Each speaks for his party in trenchant utterance; and each will please those who talk his shibboleth. Sir Edwin Arnold writes in elevated strain on "Astronomy and Religion," awaking those feelings of sublimity which a citation of the bewildering facts of astronomy always produces. Declaring that "at the present moment the well-established credit of the government is the only security against its bankruptcy," the Hon. George S. Boutwell writes on "The Peril of the Treasury," and outlines a financial plan "by which a gold revenue shall be provided adequate to the probable claims upon the national treasury, and by which the product of American silver, in excess of the demand by the arts and industries of the country, may be used for currency, and all without regard to the policy of other nations." J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., follows with a discussion of "The Transatlantic Mails," in which he considers some of the inequalities in postal rates and calls for a readjustment of schedules. "The postage on a letter weighing one ounce," he says, "sent 3,500 miles from New York to Vancouver, a foreign town, is two cents; while the charge for sending a letter of half that weight 3,540 miles to another foreign town, Liverpool, is five cents." Senator James H. Kyle, of South Dakota, next considers the question, "How shall the Indians be Educated?" A single generation of "vigorous, humane policy on the part of the government," he says, "will bring the Indians not only to self-support but to citizenship. The factors in the solution are, first, a belief that the Indian can be civilized; second, a well-defined policy; and third, the divorcement of the entire Indian question from politics." Students of city government will be interested in "The Municipal Problems of London," by its lord mayor; and ardent advocates for the "greater New York" will do well to notice the concluding sentiment of the writer, that "decentralization is an indispensable condition of the good local government of heterogeneous populations." The next article, by the Hon. William McAdoo, considers the "Reorganization of the Personnel of the Navy." The opening assertion of Dr. Louis Robinson, in "The Primitive Child," that "the Darwinian doctrine of human descent has now been accepted for the best part of a generation," gives a key to his effort to trace various phases of man's physical and mental development to their origin. The Hon. Frederic C. Penfield writes of

"Sidelights on the Exploitation of Egypt;" Lady Henry Somerset, in "The Renaissance of Woman," ardently contends for female suffrage; and Archbishop Ireland, in the concluding article, shows that the Romish Church "stands on record as the determined foe of the American saloon."

THE *Nineteenth Century* for October has: 1. "The Seven Lord Roseberies," by St. Loe Strachey; 2. "Wagner at Bayreuth," by the Countess of Galloway; 3. "The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India," by Professor Max Müller; 4. "English Art Connoisseurship and Collecting," by Sir Charles Robinson; 5. "Cholera and the Sultan," by Ernest Hart; 6. "Did Omar Destroy the Alexandrian Library?" by R. Vasudeva Rau; 7. "A Dialogue on Dress," by the Hon. Mrs. Chapman; 8. "A Scottish Vendetta," by Sir Herbert Maxwell; 9. "The Farce of University Extension—a Rejoinder," by Charles Whibley; 10. "A Suggestion to Sabbath Keepers," by Professor Alfred R. Wallace; 11. "The Chinaman Abroad," by Edmund Mitchell; 12. "A Trip to Bosnia-Herzegovina," by M. de Blowitz; 13. "The Perilous Growth of Indian State Expenditure," by Sir Auckland Colvin. The first article dissects the present prime minister with a surgeon's skill. "He has won the Derby," it concludes, "or rather Ladas has; for some of the credit should surely belong to the horse. What else has he accomplished in his six months' premiership? He has not even got up a 'live' agitation against his fellow peers." The third article discounts the claim of M. Notovitch, that Christ was in India from his fifteenth to his twenty-ninth year, and that he studied Sanskrit and Pâli in that country, read the Vedas and the Buddhist canon, and thence "returned through Persia to Palestine to preach the Gospel." In the sixth article the writer reckons it "highly improbable" that Omar gave the order to burn the Alexandrian library. The tenth article advises such an interchange of service that men may obtain a respite from their ordinary work on the Sabbath day. Having had the good fortune to see "John Chinaman abroad in many climes and under many diverse conditions," Mr. Mitchell testifies in the eleventh article to his industry and frugality, and counsels the welcome of Chinese immigrants on Australian and American shores.

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for October has: 1. "Dr. Driver on Isaiah xiii and xiv," by W. M. McPheeters, D.D., in which the writer vindicates the Isaianic authorship of these chapters; 2. "The Theology of Hosea and Amos," by Edward Mack; 3. "The New Testament Law for the Church's Effort at Propagandism," by T. C. Johnson, D.D., which law is contained in Acts i, 8; 4. "The Lambeth Ultimatum," by Dr. J. A. Waddell, calling for Christian unity, though not for union; 5. "Conditions of Success in the Gospel Ministry," by T. R. English, D.D.; 6. "The Determinant of Value in Morals," by W. J. Wright, D.D., whose object is "to point out some of the difficulties" of the utilitarian theory of morals and "to propose a possible basis of harmony" between it and the intuitional theory.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for October has: 1. "The Crimea in 1854 and 1894," by General Sir Evelyn Wood; 2. "Sidelights on the Second Empire, Part II," by William Graham; 3. "Our Workmen's Diet and Wages," by Thomas Oliver, M.D.; 4. "An Antiquarian Ramble in Paris," by Frederic Harrison; 5. "The Extermination of Great Game in South Africa," by H. A. Bryden; 6. "The Legislation of Fear," by Ouida; 7. "In Syria," by Frederic Carrel; 8. "Madagascar," by Vazaha; 9. "A Pretender and His Family," by Albert D. Vandam. In the first article, a veteran general recalls the memories of the Crimean struggle, in which he participated as a midshipman forty years ago. In the fourth article Frederic Harrison writes that "Paris may face the twentieth century with the proud consciousness, not only of being the most brilliant and pleasant of cities, but also that she bears on her the record of twenty memorable centuries of the past." The key to the sixth article is in the assertion that "legislation by fear is everywhere replacing legislation by justice, and is likely to continue to do so." The seventh article considers the religious and social aspects of Syria. "The finite ideas of the Eastern mind are being shaken in most of their Asiatic strongholds; but in none are they more open to disturbing influences than in Syria to-day."

THE *Gospel in All Lands* for October contains, among other important matter, admirable portraits and notices of the Secretaries and Treasurer of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.——The *American Historical Register*, "a monthly gazette of patriotic-hereditary societies of the United States of America," is superior in the matter of its October number and handsome in its typographical preparation.——The *Columbus Theological Magazine* has among its papers, in the October number, the continuation of "A Study of Witchcraft," by Rev. R. C. H. Lenski.——In the September-October number of the *Canadian Methodist Review* are "Anthropology Underlying Redemption," by A. C. Courtice, "Kosmo-Sabbaton, or the Sabbath Before Moses and After Christ," by M. R. Knight, "Zephaniah, a Leader of an Ancient Forward Movement," by J. E. Ford, and "The Nature of Christ's Atonement," by W. Jackson. ——The *Missionary Review* for November has important things to say of Turkey, Korea, and China.——The *Catholic World* for October opens with a paper on the "Immoral Use and Sale of Intoxicants," by A. F. Hewit, D.D. It also has an illustrated article, by Rev. G. F. X. Griffith, on "Tübingen and its Catholic Scholars."——The *Preacher's Magazine* for October abounds with suggestions to makers of sermons. Dr. William E. Ketcham is now announced as the American editor of the periodical, and as the writer of the most excellent "Notes" and "Outline Addresses."——The October number of the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* has an article on "Africa and the Descendants of Africa," by Bishop Arnett, one on "Abuses of the Sacrament," by Rev. R. R. Downs, and one on "Lynch Law in the South," by Judge D. A. Straker. ——The *Methodist Magazine* for October abounds in wholesome reading, and is a credit alike to Canadian Methodism and to its editor, Dr. Withrow.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

A Lawyer's Examination of the Bible. By HOWARD H. RUSSELL, LL.B. 12mo, pp. 262. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The book opens with this incident: "In 1830 a ship was wrecked on the Cape of Good Hope. The crew and passengers escaped to land, but ship and cargo were lost. One of the passengers was the renowned Alexander Duff, on his way to missionary service in India. Huddled in a poor hovel with the other passengers, Duff was lamenting the loss of his library of more than eight hundred volumes, when a sailor entered with a package he had found on the beach. It was covered with chamois skin, and when opened was found to contain Duff's Bagster Bible. This Bible and the Scotch hymn book wrapped with it were the only books recovered from the wreck. The incident profoundly impressed Dr. Duff, as if it were the voice of God declaring that, in comparison with all other books, the Bible is the supremely necessary book for India and for the world." On this incident the author comments: "Men have tried ten thousand times to wreck the Bible; but out of every storm of rationalism, skeptical philosophy, scientific denial, higher criticism, and lower criticism the great book has always come safely, through wreck and flood, outliving every tempest." Dr. F. W. Gunsaulus, of Chicago, who writes the Introduction, says, "This volume is another of the sincere efforts which earnest men are making to confront the reason of the time with the claim of Christianity." Nothing is better for the preacher than to view religion and theology from the outside, to move away from his habitual view-point, to go out of the gates of Zion and walk around beyond the walls, to mark her bulwarks and tell her towers from without. Whoever enables us to do that enlarges our horizon, increases our knowledge, confirms our convictions, multiplies our resources, and makes our thinking more conclusive and our preaching more cogent and irresistible. He must be a dull and stupid minister who is not interested in learning how the doctrines of religion look to a scientist when judged by scientific standards and habits of thought, as in Professor Cooke's *The Credentials of Science the Warrant of Faith;* and he must be blameworthy who does not care to hear how the evidences of Christianity look to a legal mind. It is no one line of proof alone that compels the acceptance of Christianity, but the convergence of evidence from all points of the mind's horizon. As all roads of the Roman empire led to the golden milestone at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, so from all regions of knowledge there are paths of thought which lead to Christ. The original title of Mr. Russell's book was, *Trial of the Gospel.* He opens a court and tries the case of Christianity, to see whether it can maintain its claims as the God-given religion before a jury under the rules of evidence and by the forms of procedure which

obtain in courts of law; whether its evidences are of the sort which courts admit and consider competent and satisfactory; and whether it has evidence enough of the right kind to prove its case and compel a favorable verdict from an impartial jury. We like to see Christianity under fire. We want it subjected to the strain of every test that is at all pertinent and properly applicable. The fiery furnace and the lions' den have been the scenes of its victories. Severe tests show the stuff it is made of. A significant fact it is that the Christian religion has justified itself to the greatest intellects, the greatest statesmen, the greatest philosophers, the greatest scientists, and also, as the book before us shows, to the greatest legal minds trained to sift and weigh evidence and decide whether the proof is positive or on which side the balance of probability inclines. Greenleaf, an authority on evidence, accepted not only in the United States, but also in Great Britain, says, "All the Bible asks of men is that they treat its evidence as they treat the evidence of other things." A chief justice says, "Every fair-minded, unbiased person, who will carefully read the Bible with a desire to master its contents, will find abundant evidence that it is of divine origin and was designed to teach us our duty toward God and our fellow-men." Lawyers and judges of highest ability and distinction, like John Selden and John Jay—men of strictest, sturdiest, most sagacious, cautious, scrutinizing, and exacting minds—find Christianity credible, its evidences firm and decisive. The book we are noticing is a lawyer's plain, orderly arguing of Christianity's case in a civil court before a judge and jury. If anyone wishes to learn how the gospel narratives of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John look to the greatest modern authority on the nature and comparative value of the different kinds of legal evidence, let him read Greenleaf's *Testimony of the Evangelists*, and he will feel that it matters not what the ignorant attorney of the "Star Route" scoundrels may think, for a greater than Ingersoll is there.

The Life and Teachings of Jesus. A Critical Analysis of the Sources of the Gospels, together with a Study of the Sayings of Jesus. By ARTHUR KENYON ROGERS. 12mo, pp. 354. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.75.

A very dangerous book. It is dangerous to the ordinary reader because, with a great show of candor and reverence for the truth, apparent reverence for the Bible even, and in an excellent spirit, full of charity and religion, the author presents a subtly veiled rationalism and strikes from under our feet all the foundations of faith in the credibility of the gospels. He applies as free and reckless a criticism to the evangelists and the various documents which he supposes to underlie their complications as any writer has done to the documents which lie back of the Hexateuch. He leaves us as little of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as others have left us of Moses. John he wipes out of existence altogether, so far as any authorship of the fourth gospel is concerned, but admits that he may have been "the source of the author's knowledge." He thinks this author to have been "a presbyter in one of the cities of Asia Minor, a man who had reached a new conception of Christianity, a philosophy of religion which, as Jesus stood at the center of it, he wished to carry out in a rep-

resentation of Jesus's life; and in accordance with a very common literary custom he determined that it should be written in the person of one who actually had lived in Jesus's time and who should stand for the religious conception which he had to represent." "As history it has no value; the facts are not facts at all, but only an outward dress, a picture of the ideas which the author wishes us to see beneath them. The author does not mean them to be accepted as facts." Mr. Rogers rejects all miracles, to begin with, including the incarnation and resurrection, and finds no evidence that the first three gospels proceed from the men whose names they bear. "We shall regard a narrative when it tells of the miraculous as on the face of it in some sort of error." "The new matter which Matthew brings in is not only legendary, but flagrantly so." In short, none of the gospels has anything but the very slimmest kind of credibility, and "a very large part, indeed, of all we seemed to know about Jesus has crumbled away." "The evidence for the resurrection is weaker, upon the whole, than the evidence for most of the other miracles in the gospels." "The circumstantial stories about the appearances of the risen Jesus are an absolute impossibility." These extracts fairly and sufficiently show what sort of man Mr. Rogers is, or, at least, what sort of New Testament he would leave us did we put ourselves into his hands to be taught—simply a mass of wild legends and utterly improbable traditions, put together by uncertain nobodies in the second century, with the smallest possible substratum of truth and fact. And this is supposed to be a rational explanation of how the great temple of Christianity, in which the wisest and best men of nineteen centuries have delighted to worship, took its rise and came to be. This supposition is deliberately offered to us as more intelligible and reasonable than that which has been thus far believed by the greatest intellects of modern times. We must ask to be excused from falling in, yet a while, with this new theology. Its acceptance demands more credulity than we can muster. It is not a boon to the world, but quite the contrary. We have a very decided conviction that revivals of pure religion will not be promoted by it, that it will not comfort people in the depths of affliction nor steady them in the stress and storms of life. The heathen millions are not waiting to hear the announcement of this kind of Gospel. If we have nothing better than this to offer them they might as well retain their own beliefs, and the missionaries should be recalled. We have styled the book a dangerous one. We certainly cannot recommend its purchase or perusal. "In nonessentials liberty" is one thing. But when we are asked to give up Christianity as a divine revelation and consign it to the limbo of purely human speculations, that is quite another thing. It is absurd on the face of it. The Christian religion has done too much for the world, and the progress of humanity is too closely bound up with its integrity, to make such trifling with its very pillars a small offense. What can these people who are striving to overthrow it—all in the name of truth, reason, and religion—offer us in its place? Why should such books be read when there is so much else far more profitable in every way waiting to be considered?

Revelation by Character. Illustrated from Old Testament Lives. By ROBERT TUCK, B.A. 12mo, pp. 308. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, $2.

God has never at any one time given a final and complete revelation of himself and his glory. He has rather delighted to reveal himself part by part, lifting the veil fold by fold. He has spoken in many portions and in many manners—by promises, types, sacrifices, *urim*, dreams, voices, similitudes, and prophets specially commissioned. Especially has he conveyed to men that truth which they are by nature incapable of discovering. He has been pleased to emphasize those truths and principles which men had discovered, but were not appraising at their true value or using with practical efficiency. Our author has undertaken to make clear to us that there is a divine revelation, not only in the incidents and history of the Scripture record, but also in the characters of the Bible men themselves. He claims that a man's character is of more importance than anything he has done or any circumstances in which he is placed. His effort, therefore, is to discover the keynote of the life and, through this keynote, the precise moral mission of each man. Very wisely he assumes that his readers are familiar with the general outlines of the lives that are treated. He does not load down his book with rhetorical descriptions of well-known scenes and narratives from old Scripture biographies. Only once in human history have been witnessed all the qualities that belong to human nature blended in one perfect character—the man Christ Jesus. Other men exemplify but a few traits, and these imperfectly.

They are but broken lights of Thee,
And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

By studying these individual traits in various men and women we find ourselves better able to comprehend the character of Him who is the "chiefest among ten thousand" and "altogether lovely." The work would prove interesting to most readers, and especially valuable to ministers of the Gospel. Even the titles of the chapters are themselves suggestive, as "Spiritual Abraham," "Energetic Caleb," "Playful Samson," "Self-satisfied Solomon," "Hopeful Isaiah." The author displays sound scholarship, considerable originality, and has withal an attractive style. He has not attempted a complete series; we notice such omissions as Samuel and Jeremiah, and that he has not given us a study of any Bible woman. He promises another volume on the character, the marked individuality of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Princeton Sermons. Chiefly by the Professors in Princeton Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 352. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These sermons were not in the first instance written for publication. They were prepared for the weekly Sunday services held in the chapel of the Theological Seminary at Princeton. The series also includes two sermons each by President Patton and Dean Murray, of the college, who are officers of the seminary and frequently preach in its pulpit. The circumstances that led to the composition of these discourses have doubtless given to them a special character. They were addressed to young men

preparing for the ministry by those who occupied the position of their daily instructors; they are not sermons for the masses, but designed solely for believers. They are adapted to the needs of young men at the critical period of life, to young men who are destined to be leaders in the world of thought and action. The life of a great university is a world by itself. The door of matriculation opens before the youth a new world, rich in opportunities and advantages, yet presenting peculiar temptations and perils. At this transition stage in his career, when the student finds that the faiths of his childhood are attacked on every side and there is danger of schism between his reason and his heart, how opportune it is for him to be furnished with the light and guidance of such discourses as these! The professors take up those questions of the day that agitate theological circles in both hemispheres and deal with them in a masterly way. In the sermons on the "Promise of the Spirit" and "Incarnate Truth" we are presented with a clear statement of the Princeton position concerning the inerrancy of the Scriptures. Such statements as we find set forth in some other theological seminaries find no sympathy with the Princeton professors; not only so, but they are shown to be utterly without foundation. Such, for instance, are the following: "Christ in his manhood was not the equal of Newton in mathematical knowledge, nor of Wellhausen in literary criticism." "In the teaching of Christ we must discriminate what belongs merely to the prejudices of his day and generation and the message that he is commissioned of God to impart. In the one case he is not only limited in knowledge, but may be entirely mistaken; it is only in the other that he brings to us truth that is life. We are to distinguish by the light within what is really of Christ and what is not." For devotional reading we commend especially the sermons by Professor Murray—"Christ as a Man of Prayer," and "The Transfiguration of Life by Christ." We have not for many a day read their equal.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

An Introduction to the Study of Society. By ALBION W. SMALL, Ph.D., Head Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago, and GEORGE E. VINCENT, Vice Chancellor of the Chautauqua System of Education. 12mo, pp. 384. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: American Book Company. Price, cloth, $1.80.

This book may be considered as a guide in the study of the human society of which its readers are a part. It is a text-book for students of some maturity of intelligence, possessed of some of the results of training and discipline. Specially designed for college students, it will be equally useful to any preacher or other public teacher who may be willing to sit down and learn the first principles of social structures and functions. Such a reader will enhance its value to himself by working out the problems set down at the ends of some of the chapters. Our society is put in grave peril by the sentimental and dialectic methods of discussion prevailing in our day, the essayists and orators being for the most part as

ignorant as they are glib and ornate. We wish every preacher in the land could be persuaded to study sociology by the aid of this book for at least one whole year. The fruit of such a study would be of incalculable value to our civilization; it would arrest the destructive movements which at many points are invading and raiding our social possessions. "Destructive dogmas will control the popular imagination," if such control is not prevented by a vast increase of wisdom among the teachers and leaders of the future; and these teachers and leaders are in college or in the beginnings of professional life. The three hundred and eighty-four pages of the book are distributed into five books. In the first there is an outline of "The Origin and Scope of Sociology;" the second is devoted to "The Natural History of a Society;" the third considers "Social Anatomy;" the fourth studies "Social Physiology and Pathology," and the fifth is a discussion upon "Social Psychology." The arrangement is an admirable one, and yet we advise the reader who knows himself to be inexperienced to begin with the second book and to pass from that to the fifth book, and then to study the whole in its own order. We suggest this, not because we consider the arrangement defective, for we do not, but because an inexpert reader, having no man to guide him, will first of all need an inspiring interest in the subject; and books two and five may interest and inspire even a dull reader, and lead him on to further study. Too much praise can hardly be given to the authors for the modesty of their claims to attention. It is a note of true science and sound learning. It is, also, a much-needed example for the students of their work. The people who are dinning half truths into our ears have no modesty and no reticence; that is their asinine distinction. In the present work two men, fortified by good training, large special study, and the habits of instructors, are careful to claim little while they are doing a great work. This, they tell us, is not the whole of the science of sociology, not the whole even of that small part we have undertaken to study. A guide for the study of contemporary society—on farms we have seen settled, in villages whose first houses are standing yet, in cities whose first generation has just passed away—such a guide for the study of the facts of living society did not exist, and our authors have created it. Such a book as this could not be offensively dogmatic; nevertheless, some admirable aphorisms are sprinkled over its pages. We quote a few: "The right of free thought does not involve the competence of every man to think every order of thought;" "Scientific students of society ought to oppose with all their power the many mischievous tendencies to construct mountainous social philosophies out of molehills of social knowledge;" "It is necessary to distinguish between provisional action prompted by sympathy and the discovery of social principles attested by science;" "He who by genuine social function seeks to acquire wealth is increasing social, no less than personal, efficiency;" "Genuine reforms, in the nature of things, work gradually, not rapidly." We ardently hope that every reader of the *Review* will study this volume. We do not hesitate to record our belief that it is one of the ten best books of the year; it is certainly one of the books most

needed. One of the most roundly cultured men in Methodism—an ex-president of one of our colleges—says that there is so much meat in Small and Vincent's book, and it is so closely packed, that an adequate review of it might be almost as long as the volume itself.

Science and a Future Life, with Other Essays. By FREDERIC W. H. MYERS. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Our first acquaintance with this author was years ago, through his unique and remarkable poem, "St. Paul," a production marked by singular majesty of thought and expression, and in which the most subtle harmonies of idea and association blended with a stately melody of sonorous verse to make it as much a poem to the mind as to the ear. Self-observation reports that since that first taste of his quality we have always been ready for more, and have counted it worth while to read every line of prose or verse coming from his pen in the enlarging authorship of later years. Desiring to restrain ourselves from eulogy, we are yet constrained to say that few essayists of to-day are more entitled to a public audience, to the ear of thoughtful, earnest, cultivated persons of every class and creed. Mr. Myers commands intellectual respect by his clear and vigorous thinking, his broad and varied culture, and his extended knowledge; moral respect, by his sincerity and candor, his fearless inquiry for and supreme loyalty to whatever may prove itself to be truth and fact, his devotion to ideas and principles, his scorn of subterfuge, exaggeration, or pretense, and his fairness to every antagonist or contrary opinion; and compels admiration by his mastery of euphonious expression, his unerring choice of the best word, and the distinct and luminous way in which his language presents his thought, pure and precise as is the lunar disk when "Artemis rolls her lucid moon through heaven" upon a cloudless night. We are not ashamed to confess that we care more for Frederic W. H. Myers than for Henry James. He shows the earnestness which becomes man's nature and befits his life, grapples manfully with problems the most solemn and august, and yearns to realize the significance of existence. He is an intellectual athlete, not an intellectual "dude," man-milliner, or jeweler. Despising no art which can give force or charm to his writing, he yet spends no time in carving cherry pits or dressing dolls. Five significant essays of general interest make the volume before us, and to them there is added a fondly admiring memorial tribute to the English Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany. The first essay considers the all-inclusive and transcendent question of man's survival beyond death—the question whose magnitude of meaning belittles all others. For himself the author accepts the historic argument for immortality presented by Christianity in the resurrection of Christ. On this he says: "I still adhere to Paley's view; I cannot explain that testimony given by the 'twelve men of probity,' in face of bonds and stripes and death, except on the supposition that Christ did in fact, in some way, manifest himself to his disciples after bodily life was extinct." But he recognizes that faith in this isolated and astounding historic event depends on the acceptance of the

New Testament records as perfectly veracious and trustworthy, and, therefore, is not possible to those who find in the miraculous a reason for discrediting and rejecting those records. He believes it both desirable and possible to find arguments for immortality lying outside of religion, revelation, and history, which will appeal to the natural understanding and the common sense of most. He asserts that the time has come to approach the momentous problem of a future life from the scientific side and by scientific methods; and the attempt must be made through physiology and psychology. This lends peculiar interest to the new, tentative, and empirical science of physiological psychology. Up to date modern science has nothing positive to say for or against man's future existence. Here and there an individual scientific voice speaks on one side or the other. Professor Draper used to say that the mind's superiority to, and independence of, the body could be physiologically proved. Mr. Myers expects, by due process of investigation, to discover some scientific evidence which will in itself justify a belief in the efficacy of prayer and the operation of a divine Spirit upon human nature from its upper side, as well as in the *post-mortem* survival of the human personality. He challenges the evolution theory to present some coherent and plausible solution of the mysterious problems of life, consciousness, thought, and says that unless it can prove its capacity to do so it must retire discredited. Whether experimental psychology will ever project one penetrating ray into the intimate structure of the spiritual universe by the light of which alone man's survival will stand in visible demonstration we know not; but from every jutting point along the brink and border of this earthly life man will always lean out and peer off into the unseen universe in which he believes and of which he is a part. We reject Emerson's assertion, "Of immortality the soul, when well employed, is incurious." The second essay in this volume is "Charles Darwin and Agnosticism." In general, it leads into the same realm of thought as the first one. It inquires what Darwin's view was of the effect of his theories on the old problems of the soul and of Providence. Four points are considered: first, the weakening effect of Darwinism on the argument for Providence drawn from the consensus of mankind; secondly, its weakening effect on a similar argument drawn from a sense of sin and forgiveness; thirdly, its apparent incompatibility with the creationist theory of the genesis of the human soul; and, fourthly, the question whether, if agnosticism becomes the prevalent attitude of men's minds, we may suppose that posterity will acquiesce with Darwin's cheerfulness in the abandonment of the ancient hope. Believers in a soul hold various opinions as to its origin. Creationists maintain the creation of a new soul by a fresh act of God for each new body. Traducianists believe the soul to be engendered by the parents and transmitted, like the bodily characteristics. Infusionists hold that the soul preexisted elsewhere, but was infused into the body at some given moment. And transmigrationists develop the infusionist doctrine by adding that the soul, thus infused into man, had previously inhabited the bodies of other men or animals. The author quotes Dar-

win's words about the high "feelings of wonder, admiration, and devotion" which filled and elevated his mind amid the grandeurs of a Brazilian forest. He adds also these significant words of the great naturalist: "I cannot, anyhow, be contented to view this wonderful universe, and especially the nature of man, and to conclude that everything is the result of brute force. I am inclined to look at everything as resulting from designed laws." This implies a Designer. And again: "Believing, as I do, that man in the distant future will be a far more perfect creature than he now is, it is an intolerable thought that he and all other sentient beings are doomed to complete annihilation." And yet, after all, Darwin sank into agnosticism. His higher perceptions faded, his religious sensibilities became atrophied. This essay ends with a verdict upon the worthlessness of material science if it only proves that nothing man may ever discover can be to him of any true concern: "What profit, if we are to gaze upon the cosmos for an hour and pass and leave the giant forces playing with a purport forever hid from men? What gain, to watch for a moment the inscrutable pageant, to be summoned out of nothingness into illusion, and evolved but to aspire and to decay?" The remaining essays, on "The Disenchantment of France," "Tennyson as Prophet," and "Modern Poets and Cosmic Law," are equally enticing to the serious mind and the cultivated taste. The last begins with this somewhat surprising statement: "Wordsworth, Darwin, Tennyson—the three greatest Englishmen of our century."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The American Church History Series. Volume XI. 8vo, pp. 487. New York: The Christian Literature Company. Price, cloth, $3.

This volume contains a history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, by Gross Alexander, D.D., Professor of Greek in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; a history of the United Presbyterian Church, by James Brown Scouller, D.D.; a history of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, by R. V. Foster, D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in Cumberland University; and a history of the Presbyterian Church, South, by Thomas C. Johnson, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Seminary at Hampden Sidney, Va.

The chief interest of our readers will probably be in Professor Alexander's history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which occupies the first one hundred and forty-two pages of the volume. Of this it must be said that it is written in admirable style, and in a spirit which should satisfy the most exacting. It handles a sensitive history in the calm, fair-minded fashion which becomes the dignity of a true historian. It makes use of the past for purposes of instruction, and not in a way to revive and perpetuate its disagreements and misunderstandings. In this respect it is in marked and pleasing contrast with the history of the Southern Presbyterians, which closes the volume. It will not retard the progress toward unity and that

nobler future which, in ways planned or undreamed of, devised by men or precipitated by secret divine preparations, is sure to come. Reading over the record of the separation of Northern and Southern Methodism in 1844, we are impressed that never in ecclesiastical history was a great division, which contained intense and exciting elements, accomplished with a larger admixture of dignity, magnanimity, fraternal good will, acting more in sorrow than in anger and grieved at the irresistible necessity forced by issues which could not be avoided or postponed. We perceive and appreciate this the more when we read Dr. Johnson's history of the Presbyterian Church, South, which shows a different picture. On both sides of the Methodist crisis were men of conscience, sagacity, self-control, piety, and power. To us it is matter of gratitude and happy augury that the history of the past on both sides contains what seems, in view of the nature of human nature, a surprisingly small amount of material calculated to build a barrier of division far into the future. It is blessedly evident that, notwithstanding all human errors and infirmities, God has been with Methodism, both North and South, through all the years. What would become of individuals or Churches if God abandoned us because of our faults or left us to suffer the unmitigated consequences of our mistakes? Rather, he not only prearranges and provides before us, but also corrects and overrules after us. That the spirit of Christian love was alive and warm in both Methodisms, as if they heard an authoritative Voice falling from the heaven which knows no South, no North, "Little children, love one another," that this Voice was revered and listened to above the din and horror of two thousand battles, was indicated by the fact that when, in April, 1866, only a year after the close of the war, the New York East Conference sent from Brooklyn to the General Conference of our Southern Church, then in session in New Orleans, a cordial invitation to join in "a day of special prayer, both in private and in the public congregations, for the peace and unity of our common country and for the full restoration of Christian sympathy and love between the Churches, especially between the different branches of Methodism in this nation," the Southern General Conference, by a standing vote, directed its secretary to telegraph to the New York East Conference their cordial reciprocation of these Christian salutations and their cordial agreement to unite in the day of prayer as proposed. No one can think less highly of Southern Methodism after reading Dr. Alexander's concise and comprehensive story; for this historian makes his Church an object of respect and admiration to his readers. The reason why the General Conference of 1862, which had been appointed to meet in New Orleans, did not assemble, is given thus: "Contrary to the expectations of the General Conference of 1858, Admiral Farragut and General Butler had anticipated them in the occupancy of New Orleans, in April, 1862; and it was not entirely certain that General Butler would hospitably receive the General Conference or facilitate its proceedings. It therefore lapsed." We feel a sense of proprietorship in the great men of Southern Methodism, and we like the fond pride with which their memory is cherished. Of Bishop Pierce

Professor Alexander says: "He preached in a metropolitan church with all the ease with which he preached to a congregation of negro slaves, and he preached to the slaves with as much beauty and pathos and power as to the great men and women of the earth. I have heard Beecher and Talmage and Hall and Taylor and Simpson and Spurgeon and Liddon and Farrar and Punshon and Parker; but I never was so moved, or saw people so moved, by the preaching of any man as by that of George F. Pierce, of Georgia." The epitaph over Bishop McTyeire, buried with McKendree and Soule on the campus of Vanderbilt University, is, "He was a leader of men and a lover of children." This tribute to the Southern negroes is quoted from Dr. R. H. Rivers: "In the neighborhood where I lived during the war in Alabama the sound of a trumpet would have called up five thousand colored men and not over fifty white men. The white men had gone off to the war and left their wives, children, property in the care of the negroes. Not a crime was committed." The closing statement of the history is as follows: "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, along with her sister evangelical Churches, stands for the faith once delivered to the saints, for the pure and simple Gospel of Jesus Christ, and for the conversion of the world; along with other Methodist bodies she stands for every doctrine of Arminian Wesleyan theology, 'from prevenient grace to perfect love;' *more than any other Church in the world she stands for constitutional Episcopal Methodism.*"

The last one hundred and seventy-five pages of Volume XI of *The American Church History Series* contain a history of Southern Presbyterianism. If the writer, Dr. T. C. Johnson, speaks for his Church there is not much sympathy in it with the Northern Presbyterians. The Southern writer distrusts the soundness of Northern Calvinism. He hears "the cry for revision of the Confession" rising in "such volume and with such strident and piercing tones" that even "the deaf must hear and comprehend that Pelagianism is abroad." "The Northern Church is seen to have many gangrened members. Her fifteen hundred ministers from extra-Presbyterian sources and her long comatose New Schoolism show themselves." Dr. Johnson represents that the relation between the Northern and Southern branches of the Presbyterian body is more cordial in form than in fact: "the relation is half-hearted on the part of both Churches." With a distrustful and reproachful eye directed northward, expressing candidly his conviction that there is good reason why his branch of the Church should preserve inviolate her own separate existence, he says: "God has put high honors on her in the past, making her a witness for the nonsecular character of the Church, and for a Bible Calvinism, and for a Bible that makes God teach and indorse good ethics, and for the government of the Church according to her divine constitution, and for the highest form of Church organization in the Presbyterian body, perhaps. She may never merge her witness for these truths by an adulterous connection with any Church that will not and cannot bear a true witness for them, except to her eternal shame. May the God who raised up a Thornwell to lead this Church in her infant days.

and a McPheeters to suffer for two of her synods and for Christians everywhere, who has given a Dabney and a Peck, an H. M. Smith and a B. M. Palmer, to minister to her people hitherto, raise up spiritual sons worthy of such fathers to lead the Church, until another body who has the same witness to make, or can teach us a truer one, shall admit us to union with them." The writer evidently does not feel that the Northern Presbyterians are worthy to associate with his Church.

The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome. By F. W. PULLER, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. With a Preface by EDWARD, Lord Bishop of Lincoln. Crown 8vo, pp. xxxi, 428. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.25.

The growth of ritualism during the past few years has been most marked. Especially is this true of the Church of England, or the Protestant Episcopal Church, as it is known in America. The tractarian movement of sixty years ago is bearing its legitimate fruit. In the great cities a "low" church is now the exception. In not a few churches seven "sacraments" are acknowledged, "mass" is said, the "host" is "elevated," the "censer" is swung, glittering mass garments are worn by the priests, who desire to be called "father," and the "confessional" has a place, with only now and then a word of protest from thoughtful churchmen who see the sure outcome of this extreme ritualistic movement. Already the frequent comment is heard from surprised and grieved worshipers in some "high" church, "I see no difference between this and the Roman Catholic Church." Practically, there is no difference. "Father" Ritchie, the rector of St. Ignatius Church, in this city, a representative of excessive ritualism, said not long since, "We are the Catholic Church, but acknowledging no allegiance to the pope." It is just this position that Father Puller, a member of the English monastic order of the Cowley Brethren, seeks to establish and defend. His controversy is against the papal assumptions of modern times, that the pope is infallible and that salvation is impossible to one outside the Roman communion. He states very clearly that the point of attack is the dogmatic declaration of Pope Boniface VIII, in his bull *Unam Sanctam*: "We therefore declare, assert, and define that for every human creature it is altogether necessary to salvation that he be subject to the Roman pontiff." The modern claims of the Roman Catholic hierarchy were set forth by the Vatican Council of 1870, over which the pope himself presided, the decrees being registered by the votes of five hundred and thirty-five members, of which number two only dissented. These decrees declare unequivocally that the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff is supreme; that all pastors and all the people are bound to the authority of the pope "by the obligation of true obedience, not only in things which pertain to faith and morals, but also in things pertaining to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world;" that "this is the teaching of the Catholic truth; and that none can deviate from it without the loss of his faith and salvation." Against these mediæval and modern claims of Rome the author makes an emphatic protest. There are seven lectures in the book, five of which were delivered in London to an

audience of clergymen. "These five lectures deal with the claim to a supremacy or primacy of jurisdiction, as of divine right," and establish the fact that the popes have no divinely given primacy of jurisdiction. The rest of the book is mainly taken up with an appeal, in regard to the two fundamental papal claims, to the "acts and writings of the great saints of the primitive Church." The Lord Bishop of Lincoln has written an Introduction to the book, in which he says he takes heart when he recalls that two thirds of the world have yet to pass judgment upon the assumptions of Rome, and that India and China have yet to make up their mind on these questions, and adds, "It is of the utmost importance that we should present the truth to the independently educated heathen mind in the most exact and strongest form possible." How different the feeling of that great and loved missionary bishop, John Coleridge Patteson, who, soon after his arrival in New Zealand, wrote in a letter to his uncle, the master of Eton: "It isn't High or Low or Broad Church, or any other special name, but the longing desire to forget all distinctions and to return to a simpler state of things, that seems naturally to result from the very sight of heathen people. Who thinks of anything but this, 'They have not heard the name of the Saviour who died for them,' when he is standing with crowds of naked fellows round him?" If this be true this book will be of little use in the great work of winning the heathen to a life of faith in Jesus Christ, and will be of interest in England and America only to those who are bewitched by ritualism and welcome any book which, directly or indirectly, treats of the Catholic Church.

Heavenly Pearls Set in a Life. A Record of Experiences and Labors in America, India, and Australia. By LUCY D. OSBORN. 12mo, pp. 364. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

First of all in this book is the picture of the Christian woman who is the author and whose life is the subject of it—a large, round, sunny, sanguine, dauntless sort of face, such as laughs at impossibilities and many other things. Looking at it, one thinks of the saying, "The world belongs to the optimists," and infers that the owner of this face must be conscious possessor of a large part of the world; if in no other way, then on the principle that all things belong to those that belong to Christ, who is God's. We do not know that the lips are saying anything in the picture, but the whole face is singing, "I'm the child of a King." As to the book, we can write no notice so unique, sententious, and suggestive as Bishop William Taylor's introduction to it, which we therefore herewith transcribe: "This book has a large amount of undisguised human nature in it. It reflects also a great deal of the divine nature, ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary covers a wide range of Christian experience, common and uncommon. The extraordinary is on the line of divine healing of the body, without ignoring God's use of medicine and surgery or adding to the agony of a blind man by affirming that he was born blind because he was a great sinner. We have an experience extraordinary also, similar to that of Paul, William Tennant, J. B. Finley, and Dr. Kendricks, of Indianapolis, Ind. I don't challenge the testimony of

any of them; but God has so constituted me and so kept me in accord with his ordinary laws of health that my body has not required extra repairs, and my simple faith in God's book and personal presence and providence does not require a trip to heaven till I shall, by the will of God, go there to stay." We rather like Bishop Taylor's faith. It seems a fairly good sort of faith, worthy to be stamped "sterling;" likely to prove steady and serviceable, to wear well and keep its color in all kinds of changeful weather; sufficiently expectant and reliant, but not fidgety and exacting; content to pray, "Give us this day our daily bread," and not sitting up to cry for manna in the middle of the night. The spiritually normal is not outranked in working power or preciousness by the extraordinary and phenomenal. Something like this seems to be innocently hinted in the bishop's introduction. Anyway, his sort of faith is the kind most of us have to survive on; and, having observed and experienced its power of sustenance and propulsion, we are not prepared to admit that it is an inferior article.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Art of Illustration. By C. H. SPURGEON. 12mo, pp. 208. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, $1.

Spurgeon was always interesting in his preaching. He had a genius for securing the attention of his hearers, and then held it without apparent difficulty. Perhaps it was art, rather than genius; if so, it was an art which amounted to genius. His preaching was intensely lifelike and vivid, pictorial in the extreme. His sermons abound in illustrations; almost every sentence uncovers a picture. He seems to think in metaphors; and for the clearer presentation of truth he draws illustrations from all sources—from life, from history, from science. This is true, as well, of his writings. How picturesque are his comments on the Psalms! This latest book of his is itself a splendid illustration of his knowledge of the art of illustration, of which he was a master. It contains five lectures, originally delivered to the students of the Pastor's College, bearing the following titles: "Illustrations in Preaching;" "Anecdotes from the Pulpit;" "The Use of Anecdotes and Illustrations;" "Where can we Find Anecdotes and Illustrations;" and "The Sciences as Sources of Illustration." Of his lectures to the students of the College of the Metropolitan Tabernacle Mr. Spurgeon once said: "I do not offer that which has cost me nothing, for I have done my best and taken abundant pains. Therefore, with clear conscience, I place my work at the service of my brethren, especially hoping to have a careful reading from young preachers, whose profiting has been my principal aim." Young ministers and, indeed, all preachers will find these lectures full of suggestions. On every page are words of good common sense, such as the following: "No reason exists why the preaching of the Gospel should be a miserable operation, either to the speaker or to the hearer."

"Sermons must not be nosegays of flowers, but sheaves of wheat. Very beautiful sermons are generally very useless ones." "Our Lord's parables were as simple as tales for children, and as naturally beautiful as the lilies which sprang up in the valleys where he taught the people." There is scarcely a statement Mr. Spurgeon makes which he does not fully illustrate; as when, for example, having said that illustrations and anecdotes will greatly help to make a way for the truth to enter, and that they will do this by catching the ear of the careless and inattentive, he adds: "We must try to be like Mr. Whitefield, of whom a shipbuilder said, 'When I have heard anybody else preach I have always been able to lay down a ship from stem to stern; but when I listen to Mr. Whitefield I cannot even lay the keel.'" The last lecture, "The Sciences as Sources of Illustration," is the least satisfactory, probably because it is "printed substantially as it was taken by the reporter," and without any revision, therefore, by Mr. Spurgeon.

The Young Man Foursquare. By REV. JAMES I. VANCE, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Norfolk, Va. 12mo, pp. 104. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

These are good sermons, "dedicated to every young man who has an ambition to make the most of himself and his opportunities," and calculated to help him in that high endeavor—only four sermons, on the young man in business, in society, in politics, and in religion, but enough to make boyhood into the manliest manhood. They are not juvenile, but worthy the attention of any who are not yet fully formed in character and fixed in habit. The text, "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings," is illustrated thus: "At ten years of age Benjamin Franklin was cutting wicks for tallow candles in a Boston chandler's shop. At seventeen, on a Sabbath morning, we find him trudging through the streets of Philadelphia, with all his earthly possessions on his back and in his pockets. The sum total of his assets consisted of some old clothes, a dollar in silver, a shilling in copper coin, and—himself. As he tramped by, a girl, who afterward became his wife, looked out of the window and laughed at the grotesque figure of young Franklin. But the lad was diligent. He applied himself assiduously. He had a genius for work. His abilities were soon recognized. He rose. By and by he became the founder of the University of Pennsylvania and of the American Philosophical Society. And little more than half a century after that Sabbath morning when we saw him walking along the streets of Philadelphia, the butt of a girl's ridicule, we find him standing before the King of France the accredited ambassador plenipotentiary of the United States of America." The profitableness of righteousness has this illustration: "When Nicholas Biddle was President of the Bank of the United States he wished a clerk in his employ to do some writing on the Sabbath. The young man refused and was dismissed. For what might be termed an overnice scruple of conscience this young man, with a mother dependent upon him, was thrown out of work. A few days later Mr. Biddle was asked to nominate some one for cashier of

another bank, and he named this young man, and as proof of his trustworthiness said, 'You can trust him, for he would not work for me on Sunday.'" Here is a quoted definition: "A gentleman is a man who has pride without vanity, courage without bravado, and who is innately considerate of the feelings of others." This sentence from Gladstone: "During the many years I was in the cabinet I was brought into association with sixty master minds, and all but five of them were Christians." Here is good counsel for us all: "Vote. Exercise the right of franchise. Cast your ballot when election day comes round. If the privileges of American citizenship were worth purchasing with blood they are surely worth preserving with a ballot. Evil wins on election day because, too often, the good men of a community do not take the trouble to vote. . . . We Americans are a queer people. We are the greatest sticklers in the world for our rights when anyone attempts to interfere with them. But given peaceable possession thereof, and we treat them with woful neglect ourselves. If it were seriously threatened that the British Parliament should select the next President of the United States there would be an uprising of indignant American citizens. And yet thousands of these same citizens will stay comfortably at home or contentedly at business and allow a foreign-born and an illiterate population to determine who shall be the next President. Vote. God will hold you responsible for it. The man or the machine who cheats you out of it is a worse thief than he who robs your safe." This small book is full of life and freshness, and is direct, pithy, practical.

A Summer Revival, and What it Brought About. By STANTON P. ALLEN, Author of *Down in Dixie.* 12mo, pp. 200. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

This is a touching story of the triumphs of grace in a human soul. The writer was successively a soldier in the United States army and a newspaper reporter, who was gloriously saved and, through the intermediate stage of the local preacher's service, has now come to most successful pastoral work in the Troy Conference. The simplicity and heart qualities of the story are its great charms. It should have a wide influence for good.

The Wee Ones of Japan. By MAE ST. JOHN BRAMHALL. Illustrations by C. D. WELDON. 16mo, pp. 137. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

There are babies, and there are other babies. The youngsters of Japan rank high in the list, unless the judgment of the present author be greatly at fault. Her estimate of the babies at Nippon is that they are "the most amusingly uncommon children in the world" and "the very best disciplined darlings to be found upon the ample bosom of mother earth." With these pleasant sentiments as a starting point, her book consists of an attractive description of the food, clothing, sports, education, and general care of Japanese children. There is so much of nature in her story that she should find an eager reader in the person of every American mother.

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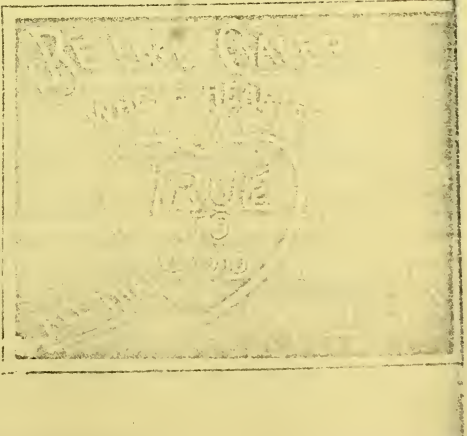

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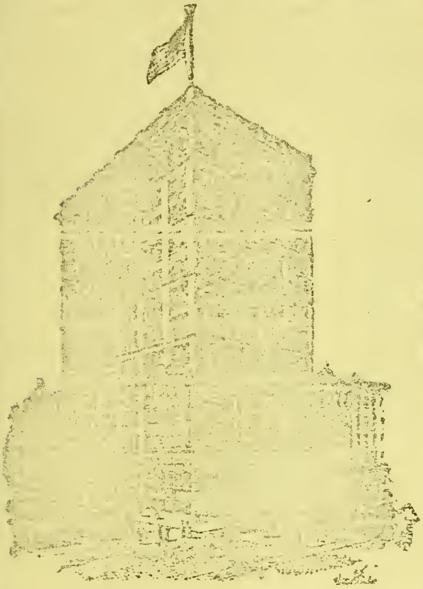

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